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PANJAB UNIVERSITY

Research Bulletin (Arts)



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PANJAB UNIVERSITY
CHANDIGARH-160014 (INDIA)
Vol. IX, No. 1 & 2
APRIL-OCTOBER 1978

NIRMAL MUKERJI
Chief Editor

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

Research Bulletin (Arts)

Volume IX, No. 1 & 2

APRIL-OCTOBER, 1978



With Compliments
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Chief Editor
Nirmal Mukerji

PANJAB UNIVERSITY

CHANDIGARH

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Price : Rs. 40.00

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SECTION I

Literature & Language

Brij M. Razdan

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SECTION I

THEORY OF LOGIC

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FROM UNREALITY TO REALITY FRANNY AND ZOOEY—A REINTERPRETATION

Brij M. Razdan

In Franny and Zooey Salinger offers profound insights into the truth underlying all great religions—the paramount need for sharing and human communion. He has no use for a religion that cuts an individual off from the larger community of man. Here he repudiates all such approaches that seek escape from the welter of life in mystical bliss (Seymour), self-immolation (Teddy) or theological prayer (Franny). Franny, more than any other character in Salinger, underscores the sickness which afflicts the hypersensitive individuals in contemporary society, who are, temperamentally or through early upbringing, oriented toward goodness and the childhood state of purity. The immediate cause of this sickness seems to be the protagonists' revulsion against the bourgeois insensitivity, ego cult and crass vulgarity. In this oppressive atmosphere, a Holden Caulfield or Franny would find it extremely difficult to maintain their individual integrity. Obviously, they submit to the natural tendency to withdraw from the world and society and turn in on themselves for solace and peace.

Superficially viewed, this might mean that Salinger, employing his incisive irony, is criticizing the "Sickish ethos" in the States. But Salinger is no mere satirist. He is concerned with something more profound, with the paramount question: How to live—without feeling jittery, alienated and alone.

Salinger can understand and appreciate non-conformism—all the major protagonists in his stories are non-conformists but he will not approve of withdrawal as a sequel to non-conformity into the cave of one's subjectivity. His repudiation of Franny's way is more insistent and more serious than his ironic side thrusts at the present-day culture.

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As I see it, this atavistic trait to return to the childhood state of innocence and purity inheres in the American psyche and is rooted in history—the nostalgic desire for that lost dream projected by Thoreau and Emerson and celebrated by Walt Whitman. This is no less manifested in the cult of Flower children and Hippies. In a tilt against the *degenerate* society and *shallow* culture they smoke grass and drop acid (a few take to meditation and Yoga) to reach a mystic high, so they could sniff their noses at the world around and show off their 'spiritual' indifference and superiority. All such strivings after religious experience of a sort constitute a flight from reality. Salinger dubs this tendency to shun and despise the people from the illusion-point of absolute self-righteousness and superiority as "sickness". Franny's non-conformism and the resultant estrangement and nausea are an artistic manipulation of this sickness.

In the language of the Upanishad, this sickness is peculiar to individuals who are hung on a 'dream' and drift in the state of unreality. And the passage from unreality to reality lies *via* awareness through dialogue with a Guru 'Lead me from unreality to reality', says the Upanishad. In the story *Franny and Zooey*, Franny journeys from the state of unreality to reality when Zooey (the Guru figure) jolts her into awareness that she could realize herself only through *others via* love and disinterested action.

In this paper I shall attempt a reappraisal of *Franny and Zooey* in the Upanishadic frame of reference.

Structurally, the story in *Franny and Zooey* is patterned on the Upanishadic formulation of expanding consciousness. The (mental) life of man as defined in *Mandukyopanishad*, and elaborated in the *Brihdaryanak* is divided into three states of waking, dreaming and dreamless sleep.

The waking state¹ is comparable to what Karl Jasper calls the state of being-there, when an individual is at home in the world of objects and he conforms to the accepted norms and values of society. In this state he remains a conditioned automaton, and his existence inauthentic.

The dream state² is one in which the individual protests conformity and is hung on his own idea of achieving desires. Though it signifies emergence from the waking state, the dream state is still enveloped in

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avidyā (non-knowledge or illusion). In this intermediary state the individual compounds his desires into his dreams. "But when he sleeps, but also dreams, he lives in a world of his own. He may dream that he is a king, or that he is the best of Brahmins, he may dream that he is an angel, or that he is a beast". (*Brihadaryanakopanishad*).³

To emerge from this state is extremely difficult. To break through illusions of one's own making, one needs the guidance of a Guru.

The state of dreamless sleep signifies dissolution of illusions and conceits and of the attendant confusion and anxiety. "This is the antecedent condition from which one passes on to the definite cognition of waking and dream states."⁴ It points to the rise of a discriminating intellectual comprehension, a new perspective. Deep sleep connotes joy and calm of mind freed from the regressive pulls of the ego, signalling a new birth.⁵

Peace that comes *with* understanding, not peace that passeth understanding.

Peace that passeth understanding relates to the supra-conscious vision. As *Mandukyopanishad* postulates: "But transcending these three states is supra conscious vision called the Fourth".⁶ Salinger has treated of this vision, the *Fourth* in his stories: *A Perfect Day for Bananafish*, *Da Daumier-Smith's Blue Period*, and *Teddy*.

Salinger's disclaimer that *Franny and Zooey* is not a mystical or a religiously mystifying story, when viewed in this context, sound meaningful. That is, Salinger would divest the Upanishadic dialectic of its transcendental character and place it within the ambit of the empirical.

The implication is that in *Franny and Zooey* Salinger will no longer focus attention on the mystical vision as the only door to wisdom. He would secularise the religious approach and the story will move on the relative plane of human values. Understanding and consciousness *via* reasoning and self-analysis are equally efficacious in dissolving one's illusions and restoring equilibrium and the will to act. The entire system of Absolute Knowledge need not stand between the doer and his deed. The significance of the mystical vision consists in this that on the metaphysical plane, it removes that illusion of the individual's separateness from God, and on the moral plane, it frees the individual from the restricting demands of his ego. But a sensitive intelligent person need not have to wait for

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the vision to realize this. Through self-analysis and rational argument he can perceive the cause of his illusions and of the resultant anxiety and nausea and thus attain to a new awareness.

In *Franny and Zooey*, Salinger traces Franny's journey from a life of conformity through the state of her illusion and the concomitant estrangement and nausea to awareness in the manner of an upanishadic *katha*, with one important difference, though. Since the Upanishadic *Katha* is basically a lesson in wisdom, and dialogue is in the form of catechism, the novelistic manipulation of character and locale is minimal. Though the framework of *Franny and Zooey* is essentially religious, yet Salinger employing his artistic skill succeeds in projecting the pressure (if not the body) of the time as he dramatises the rapidly deepening crisis of the hypersensitive individual abominating her conformity to the phoney culture in the States. Without lapsing into satire Salinger builds up each character with simple gestures, vivid colloquial dialogue, side scenes, diary and letter reading, etc.

Since the story is chiefly expository and its form determined by a verbal and philosophical scheme, the waking state is projected through the dialogue of Franny and her lover Lane. At the Sickler's Franny's dialogue and gestures are so exquisitely manipulated that they not only indicate her revulsion against and impatience with the ego cult and success mania rampant at the campuses, but also, and more importantly (and this is what most Salinger critics ignore or gloss over) suggest how the protagonist is battling with herself to attain a satisfactory self-definition.

"'Oh. I remember . . . Listen, don't hate me because I can't remember some person immediately. Especially when they look like everybody else, and talk and dress and act like everybody else'. Franny made her voice stop. It sounded to her *cavilling and bitchy and she felt a wave of self-hatred* [emphasis mine] that quite literally, made her forehead begin to perspire again.'"

It shows that the polarity of change in the mind of Franny was not a matter of smooth transition. Repudiation of the waking state has been a strenuous process. To tear oneself from habitual grooves of life and thinking is no easy task. If one is sensitive, as Franny certainly is, one is likely to feel guilty of betraying the long cherished friendships and values of life. It is but natural, she hears her voice sound 'cavilling and bitchy'.

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Her revulsion against society increases her disgust with her own conventional self. She is visibly shaken at the realisation that she has lived and acted like a conditioned automaton, accepted everybody else's values and engaged herself in the rat race.

"I am ashamed of it, I'm sick of it. I'm sick of not having the courage to be an absolutely nobody. I'm sick of myself and everybody else that wants to make some kind of a splash".⁸

The anguished tone of self-accusation indicates her sense of the meaninglessness of existence—her weariness. A clear suggestion that the negative impulse is at work. In the face of it to aver as Alfred Kazin does, that in Salinger's scheme of things Glass children are always right and others are in the wrong is to misconstrue the existential nature of her predicament. Her consciousness that her life of conformity has been a meaningless ritual confirms her protest against the existent cultural values and the life style of her contemporaries.

Very adroitly Salinger counterpoints Franny's attempt at achieving vacuity with Lane's cupidity indicated by his "disjointing a pair of frog's legs". Self-absorbed and sequacious, Lane lives at the level of appetites, egoistic drives and accepted ideas. Lacking in inward orientation, he pays no attention to the self-searching conflict in the mind of Franny who avidly relates to him the story of the Russian peasant pilgrim learning how to make the Jesus Prayer efficacious. Evidently, the constant reading of the book *The Way of a Pilgrim* has accentuated Franny's conflict. *The Way of A Pilgrim* and a companion volume, we are told later, were taken from Seymour's library. The detail is very significant in that Seymour, the conscience-keeper of the Glass Family is a Bodhisatva figure—"a ringding enlightened man—a God knower"⁹ and thus his "Buddhistic" influence (with emphasis on the virtue of vacuity and renunciation), on Franny is subtly suggested. Religiously oriented, she finds the questing pilgrim's way rather 'fascinating'. Why not follow the pilgrim's way in order "to purify your whole outlook and get an absolutely new conception of what everything's about?"

As a result, Franny is desperately set on renunciation. Her nausea is used as an artistic device to suggest her total rejection of life in society. Her estrangement is complete; she loses focus, so she is alienated even from her functions and needs. She would not accept even the cup of nourishing chicken soup offered to her by Bessie (in Zooey's language,

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the one 'religious action' going on in the house). Believing all mundane activity is futile, Franny lies mumbling Christian Prayer in the fond hope of integrating herself *via* enlightenment and peace.

Though she has swung out of the orbit of the waking state, in the Upanishadic language she is still hung on *avidya*, peculiar to the Dream state. The errors of Franny are those of a transcendentalist blinded by a vision of the Absolute, refusing to stoop to the weakness and finitude of life. Wishing to attain to the unity of being, to thrust "in time eternity's concern", she clings to the bare form of the infinite and loses herself in dreams and abstractions. She imagines she alone is 'an angel' and all others are stupid ego-maniacs. She alternates between self-love and self-hate which are but two poles of her obsessive self-absorption. "He who despises himself," said Nietzsche, "nevertheless esteems himself as a self-despiser." So Zooey reprimands her :

"You take a look around your college campus, and the world, and politics, and one season of summer stock, and you listen to the conversation of a bunch of nit-wit college students, and you decide that everything's ego, ego, ego, and the only intelligent thing for a girl to do is to lie around and shave her head and say the Jesus Prayer and beg God for a little mystical experience that make her nice and happy."¹⁰

To such an individual other people only exist as *images* either of what she is or what she is not. In the language of Hindu philosophy she is too deeply immersed in the Personal Principle.¹¹

As a foil to her "wise children", Bessie highlights the absurdity of Franny's submergence in the Dream state. Bessie, "a part of life force"¹² represents the Earth principle. Her overt concern for the physical well-being of her children is indirectly aimed at maintaining the affective/emotional centre of their personality. She is impatient with and almost sick of cleverness, their "permanent affliction", "the wooden leg" common to all her children. She snaps at Zooey :

Neither you nor Buddy know how to talk to people you don't like 'She thought it over. Don't love, really', She amended.¹³

By a deft use of chiselled phraseology, side-serious, side-jesting expressions and jibes, Salinger triumphs in giving Bessie's character three-dimensional reality. She emerges as the most loveable character—nimble-footed, down-to-earth, comic, mouthing folk-wisdom and animatedly

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communicative. Her one dominating passion is *service*. She is always busy, flitting in and out, doing domestic chores, keeping the house neat and tidy worrying about the food children must eat, ministering to the sick one mumbling Christian Prayer. In fact, Salinger has modelled her after the Senior Member of the Zendo, whose chief function is to look after the Zen adepts and initiates, and to *serve*¹⁴ them. Meaningfully "the hoary midnight blue Japanese Kimono" she invariably wears during the day, and its many pockets cluttered with all sorts of repair instruments a service man must carry, is subtly suggestive of the role she has chosen for herself. Obviously, this is Salinger's way of underscoring selfless service as religious action of no mean importance. For me, she invites comparison with the little servant of the Oracle at the temple of Apollo in Par Lagerkvist's novel, *The Sibyl*. The Swedish Laureate makes the little servant appear superior to the high priest of the Temple for the same reason.

"A refreshing eyesore to the ladies in the neighbourhood," Bessie is a natural corrective to her "wise children". Her role is functional; she exercises the *gravitational* pull on her children who, as she apprehends, are all hung on mentalised constructs. It is Bessie, we remember, who forces Zooey to talk to his sister. Her own failure to impinge on Franny indicates the microbe in her is too deep-rooted. It is the Seymour-microbe, we learn a little later, when Zooey engages Franny in a catechismic dialogue. "I want to talk to Seymour," she said. Zooey explains to her how arduous has been his own struggle to free himself from the constrictive, deforming influence of Seymour. "We've got 'wise-child' complexes. We have never really got off the goddam air. Not one of us we don't talk, we hold forth. We don't converse. We expound. At least I do."¹⁵

The action of the Zooey part of the story is entirely verbal. The patterning of the dialogue fuses three linguistic modes—slangy colloquialism of real life conversation, the comic parodic mannerism, and a certain 'elicitational' technique. A fully conscious writer, Salinger manipulates an essentially explorative dialogue to achieve a new kind of expressiveness, unfolding at the same time the inner springs of character. The subtle evocative use of gestures, dream and side scenes particularises the meaning and imparts concreteness to Salinger's intention at work in the story.

The rambling dialogue between Zooey and Franny in her bed-room is the most skilful rendering of the explorative technique. Here Zooey

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not only provokes Franny to do a searching self-analysis but is also seen struggling to free himself from the deep-rooted baneful influence of Seymour—a Buddhisatva figure. More important, because structurally this gives experiential validity to Zooey's message of wisdom (he is not a professional guru) and thematically it controverts the erroneous judgement of those critics who assert Salinger has loaded the dice in favour of the Glass children. On the contrary, Salinger is under-cutting the way Seymour had blazed for the family—the Buddhistic way which leads to renunciation and withdrawal from life.

Zooey's constant puffing at the cigars, the forceful snappy tone of his rhetoric, his fidgety body movements, are used as a fictional device to indicate his anguish and ire at his own reduction to the position of a spiritual snob by "those two bastards"¹⁶ namely Seymour and Buddy and the tension involved in winning back his independent identity as an actor in life. His effort at filling in the "O's" shows his anxiety; how to plan a solution to Franny's predicament; to fill the emptiness with meaning. And, under the stimulus of Zooey's investigating catechism, as Franny gets to talking, she reminisces a "Spidery" dream in which she was made to dive in a swimming pool for "a can of Madaglia d'oro coffee that was on the bottom.... And Profeseor Tupper standing there and watching." Salinger, by italicising such words, has emphasized the ambivalence of Franny's fixation with the Professor. The dream, as I see it, is a means to signify her desire so far lying dormant in the unconscious. Her loving concern for bloomberg (picking fleas) reinforces the impression that her affective centre, though not operative, is still intact; the microbe has not as yet eaten into the deeper potencies of her being.

Her weeping and sobbing implies a sort of purgation for her anguish. But not exactly. Since she insists on talking to Seymour, Zooey decides to assume the role of the Guru. Purposely Salinger makes him use Seymour's room and his telephone for delivering the final message. Salinger contrives an adroit use of the famous gestures the Buddha made when he first delivered his sermon at Sarnath. The two *mudras*, Dharam Chakra Parvardan *Mudra* and Bhoomi Sparsh *mudra*, are suggested respectively by Zooey's left hand with the extinguished cigar dangling low and his handling of the phone. Literally, "the Bhoomi Sparsh means 'touch the earth', that is, we must be faithful to the earth, live in time, the mesh of life. And Dharam Parvardan means the spread of Dharma. To put it succinctly, 'wisdom must stay on the earth and earn its keep by illuminating life'. The handkerchief represents the Guru's mantle.

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Before Zooey speaks to Franny on the phone simulating the voice of Buddy, he *meditates*, as per Hindu ritual, to collect himself to assume the "ready position".¹⁷

"Once again he leaned forward on his elbows and buried his face in his hands. This time he sat motionless for almost a half hour".¹⁸

That Franny is also on the point of awakening is suggested by her longish walk down the hall to her parents' bedrom (be it noted it is Bessie's room) which is "freshly painted", and where the more "popular phone" in the apartment was located.

"...She [Franny] was nonetheless very peculiarly transformed as she moved. She appeared, vividly, to grow younger with each step. Possibly long halls, plus the after effects of tears, plus the ring of a telephone, plus the smell of fresh paint, plus newspapers underfoot—possibly the sum of all these things was equal, for her to a new doll carriage".¹⁹

It is a *tour de force* of linguistic manipulation. Every detail in the verbal catalogue is loaded. Fresh paint is suggestive of fresh outlook on life. Franny will acquire, movement toward lucidity, and newspapers connote the contemporary world to which she will draw closer. Furthermore, Salinger uses the device of 'recognition' to indicate that Franny is no longer subject to deception, that she has already attained to discrimination. It is not Buddy but Zooey who is speaking at the other end, she recognizes. In upanishadic terms, she has become an *adhikari*, one who is eligible to receive the sacrament. As Hindu tradition has it, the Guru imparts wisdom to a disciple only when he has sensed that the latter has become a fit vessel to receive it.

Like Krishna to Arjuna on the field of battle when the latter's wits were scattered and he wanted to renounce the world, Zooey (Salinger calls him a sort of Karma-Yogi) commends to Franny the two-fold imperative of *nishkama karma* and love as a solvent of her predicament. Zooey advises Franny to act; for thought without action is a disease, is sterile. And willingness to work within the bounds of humanity is not inconsistent with the highest aspiration. She is 'an actress' in her own right. Let her "act for God, if you want to, be God's actress if you want to". Action

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implies stepping out of oneself. *Nishkāma karma* means to act in the spirit of detachment; that is, the actor is not to be overtly concerned about the fruit of action.

“You have the right to work, but for the work’s sake only. You have no right to the fruits of work. Desire for the fruits of work must never be your motive in working. Never give way to laziness either.” (*Bhagwad Gita*)²⁰

“An artist’s only concern is to shoot for some kind of perfection, and on his own terms, not on anyone else’s”, Zooey emphasizes. That is, she should not cavil at the lack of response from the audience. The underlying suggestion is that her malady is attributable to an unwillingness to subdue her nature to the conditions imposed by life or to work out her destiny in and through the necessarily imperfect circumstances of the human condition. It is a call to her to shed her spiritual/intellectual snobbery, for she must realize that although “too goddam stupid and sentimental and unimaginative to look”, the people in the pit are Christ in the seed form. Hence his final advice to her: ‘Love the Fat Lady’. In other words, Franny must *relate* to other people and act her part in the drama of life. It is through love, an affirmation and acceptance of the world, that entry into sanity is guaranteed and the health of the individual restored. Acceptance of the Fat Lady, kinship with fellow human beings is the only way out of unreality to reality. It lies, that is, in the recognition of the human bond. This is the real meaning of Christian love—love as preached and practised by Jesus. It is not compassion, “condescension or forgiveness”, as D. Updike concludes. It is something simpler and deeper than that. This is an affirmation of one’s humanity. It comes close to the spirit of communion, comprehends sharing and a sense of humility. This betokens an attitude of openness and receptivity, a vulnerability to finite imperfections and the limitations of human condition. The coming of Christ suggests recognition on our part, of the necessity of ‘openness’ in the spirit of humility and self-sacrifice, to the finite limitations of life.

Many American critics who find fault with Salinger’s concept of ‘blanket love’ do not seem to realize that love as preached by Zooey is to serve a structural function, to correct a flaw in the perspective of the protagonist. And secondly, that love in the aspect of detachment as defined by Zooey, connotes freedom from the regressive pulls of the ego and

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denotes a positive affirmative attitude of openness and sympathy. It does not admit sentimentality²¹ and it does not rule out Jesus's going into the synagogue and lashing at the pharisees.²² The disease of alienation which is very much in fashion today is attributable to the lack of love, as Salinger sees it, to the modern man's refusal or failure to tear himself free from the mentalised constructs of the Dream State.

This sermon in love is basic to the thematic scheme of the Story, an essential antidote especially for those who live in Glass Houses, subject as they are to narrow-minded intellectual despotism. Salinger's use of the nomenclature 'Glass' has definite symbolic implications. It constitutes a barrier behind which the glass family retire to a position of spiritual/intellectual snobbery. The facts of outside world are distorted, the individuals out there appear grotesque. Members of the Glass family suffer by and large from a perceptual illusion as opposed to facts of the human situation. What Salinger emphasizes here is that the Glass children should not reduce people out there to mere *images*; they should, on the contrary, treat them as separate and distinct human beings. Love understood thus, will help bridge the gulf between perceptual illusion and the actual nature of things.

"You know, I'm only one in this family who has no problems," Zooey said. "And you know why? Because any time I'm feeling blue, or *puzzled*, what I do, I just invite a few people to come visit me in the bathroom, and—well, we iron things out together, that's all".²³

Seen in this light, Alfred Kazin's judgement that "Salinger's work is particularly directed against the 'well-fed, sun-burned' people at the summer theater, at the 'Section men' in colleges parroting the latest fashionable literary formulas, at the 'three-martini' men"²⁴ sounds completely erroneous. Rather, it is a tribute to Salinger's artistic skill and linguistic élan that the incisive comment made is very much in character. The American cultural scene looms large in the story only as it is imaginatively apprehended by Salinger's characters. Though ingeniously manipulated, it is but a dialectical pattern. All that Salinger seems to be saying is that viewed from a particular angle of vision as that of the Glass children, the mass of people may appear "sick" and "blemished", but the solution does not lie in damning, or running away from them. In fact, we should appreciate Salinger's artistic integrity and acumen that in objectifying the special kind of ailment which is catching up in

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contemporary America, he does not circumvent or embellish the social and cultural scene and treats it with reservation and irony which a complex, aware mind is likely to exhibit.

The lesson goes home, as is evidenced by the gesture Franny makes. "For joy, apparently, it was all Franny could do to hold the phone, even with both hands".²⁵ This Hindu gesture of *namaskar*, the folding of hands, is, obeisance in humble acknowledgement of the gift of knowledge. She exhibits joy, because 'consciousness is an organ of judgement as well as a vehicle of delight; its vital function is the rehearsal of response and the coordination of reaction'. Franny realizes that it was the absence of love, her inability to forge the bond of human fellowship, which had caused her nausea and befuddlement. Consequently she falls into dreamless sleep. It is suggestive, as already explained, of the dawning of consciousness, signalling a new birth. The dial tone which Franny finds "extraordinarily beautiful" to listen to is analogous to the sound of *Om* which signifies the beginning of Creation.

"She appeared to find it extraordinarily beautiful to listen to, rather as if it were the best possible substitute for the primordial silence itself".²⁶

We can imagine Franny emerging a sane individual disposed to strike meaningful relationship with others. Self and Society—the two estates will not stand secluded and polarised. Love will conciliate them.

But howsoever salutary this message of wisdom may be, it will remain an abstraction unless it is given the form and content of a concrete experience. If Salinger should write a great novel, he must show how the credo of love and disinterested action will work in the face of the irrationality and contradictions of human reality.

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the meaning of the State of dreamless sleep as defined in mantra 5.

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 14. Read Seymour's 'last entry' in Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters and Seymour, an Introduction, Bantam Books, New York, 1965, p. 91. "I've been reading a miscellany of Vedanta ... true".
 15. Franny & Zooey, p. 140.
 16. Ibid. p. 103 : "We're freaks, the two of us, Franny and I; he announced, standing up. 'I'm a twenty-five year-old freak and she's a twenty-year-old freak, and both these bastards are responsible'".
 17. Ibid. p. 185.
 18. Ibid. p. 182.
 19. Ibid. p. 187.
 20. Franny and Zooey, p. 177.
 21. Ibid. p. 171.
 22. Ibid. 164.
 23. Ibid. p. 95.
 24. Ed. Henry Anatole Grunwald: *Salinger* New York: (Hurper and Brothers, 1962), p. 52.
 25. Franny any Zooey, p. 202.
 26. Franny & Zooey., p. 202.
- For further elucidation read Mandukyopanishad Mantra 12.

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S. Krishnamoorthy Aithal

F. R. Leavis has shown little interest in abstract theory or philosophy. He has several times declared that his primary concern is with matters of practical interest. Responding to T. S. Eliot's description of him as a 'humanist' he says, "The aim is to keep as close as possible to the concrete, and to deal with general considerations in terms related as immediately as possible to practice—or to particular proposals conceived as practical"¹ The same practical bias is revealed in his statement, "One cannot . . . effectively present the idea of the critical function—the Function of Criticism at the Present Time—in generalities : one must show it in the concrete, in action."²

Nothing could persuade Leavis to make the assumptions underlying his criticism explicit and develop them into a theory. His scant regard for theory has thus provoked wide discussion and sharp disagreement. Some critics think that he has been wise to abstain from theory; others feel that his lack of any explicit theory is a fundamental weakness. Ian Gregor, among many others, defends Leavis. He says Leavis's achievement would not have been possible

had he not practised the extraordinary integrity, the severely limiting discipline he set himself; a discipline which permitted criteria to be brought only to a certain point of definition, and left there, before they became charged with philosophical or theological meaning, and most importantly, preventing that larger explicitness or statement, which seems a necessary condition for unqualified greatness. That was a price a critic who wished to 'talk to the point about novels, poems, and plays' had to pay in an age in which traditional standards of reference could no longer be assumed, and the common reader with whom Johnson delighted

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to concur, belonged to history. In such a situation Leavis saw that the function of the literary critic must be, in Richard's phrase, with preserving the cleanliness of the tools, but if such a conception carries with it a necessary diminution of scope, it has meant in Leavis's case that as far as literary criticism in England is concerned, that it is largely due to his example and achievement that there are any tools left worth cleaning.³

René Wellek, on the other hand, has deplored for years the absence of any explicit theoretical basis in Leavis's criticism. Eliseo Vivas feels the same way. In his review of Leavis's *D. H. Lawrence : Novelist* Vivas says, "The critic can avoid theory only by giving up being a critic."⁴

In this paper, I wish to show how Leavis vindicates the exclusion of any explicit theory or philosophy from his conception of criticism. This study will give us an understanding of his sense of the integrity of criticism and provide us with a general awareness of the irrelevance of theoretical approach to literature.

In the history of criticism from the time of Aristotle to the present day, philosophical inquiry into literary standards and values has been an important preoccupation of most critics, as criticism is generally understood to be the application of these well-considered and well-supported standards to literature. The history of criticism reveals that while no system of principles proved adequate for the appreciation and judgement of literature, critics have striven endlessly to formulate new and better theories, never faltering in their hope of arriving at a theory comprehensive and flexible enough to be applicable to the whole range of literature, and never doubting that such a theory was indispensable in literary study.

This age-old assumption has been seriously questioned in the twentieth century, although there have also been a few vigorous attempts to reassert it. The opponents of theory cite the inadequacies of the various existing theories of literature and criticism, the wrong judgements to which these theories led the critics who based their evaluations on them, and the constrictions they imposed on the appreciation and taste of the critics who followed them. They argue that it is wrong to measure a work of creative literature against an abstract standard, since the work takes its shape and form in response to the inner demands of the experience

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it renders. They feel the analysis of the verbal qualities of ambiguity, irony, metaphor, etc.,—the elements of internal organization—will lead critics to a truer appreciation of the experience and the artistic achievement than the conventional theoretical method of study.

The case for theory has been made with no less deliberation. Northrop Frye appropriates the whole area of criticism for literary theory. The criticism of particular works of authors, in his opinion, belongs to the whirligig of taste. The criticism which really matters is theory, that which establishes general criteria to interpret the whole range of literature. He says :

It occurs to me that literary criticism is now in such a state of naive induction as we find in a primitive science. Its materials, the masterpieces of literature, are not yet regarded as phenomena to be explained in terms of a conceptual frame-work which criticism alone possesses. They are still regarded as somehow constituting the framework or structure of criticism as well. I suggest that it is time for criticism to leap to new ground from which it can discover what the organising or containing forms of its conceptual framework are. Criticism seems to be badly in need of a coordinating principle, a central hypothesis which, like the theory of evaluation in biology, will see the phenomena it deals with as parts of a whole.⁵

René Wellek, another important theorist of the time, takes a more moderate position. He feels that Frye's dismissal of the criticism of actual works in the formulation of the critical criteria is indefensible.⁶ He is, however, in total agreement with Frye's belief in the indispensability of a theory, and has written on the subject on several occasions, to one of which I will return a little later. In *Theory of Literature* René Wellek and Austin Warren write that "a sensibility can scarcely attain much critical force without being susceptible of considerable generalized, theoretical statement."⁷ The Chicago school of critics have criticized Empson and Brooks, among other analytical critics, for their neglect of theories, and have championed theories in general and Aristotelian theory and method in particular. There are many others who think that the critic ought to have a conceptual framework or theory to guide and validate his interpretations and judgments of works of art. This basic structure of

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principles, they feel, promotes the intelligent discussion of literature, helping the reader to account for the views of the critic and enabling him to agree or differ, depending upon his own convictions. Criticism which is not buttressed by clear principles usually comes to be identified with subjective opinions and impressions lacking in objective validity.

It would be wrong, however, to say that there are two neatly divided views as to the relation between literary theory and criticism. The analytical critics who reject elaborate theories are not wholly averse to theory. They in fact have their own theories. The concepts of 'ambiguity', 'irony', 'metaphor', etc., the leading ideas of their criticism, are theories of a sort. In fact, the Chicago school explicitly treats them as literary theories, complaining that they fall short of becoming sound theories, for, as formulated, they do not penetrate far enough into their epistemological and philosophical implications. John Crowe Ransom, a New Critic, goes so far as to say: "The good critic cannot stop with studying poetry, he must also study poetics. If he thinks he must abstain from all indulgence in theory, the good critic may have to be a good little critic.... Theory, which is expectation, always determines criticism, and never more than when it is unconscious."⁸

Among the theorists, on the other hand, there are many who have applauded the work of the analytical critics, and who have recognised the limitations of the theoretical approach to literature. The Chicago critics do, for example, appreciate the contribution of the New Criticism. They present their own work not as a corrective to the New Criticism, but as a "supplement", as R. S. Crane says in his introduction to *Critics and Criticism*.⁹ I. A. Richards, though after demolishing all earlier theories has done much work in developing his own theory, remains cautious and sceptical in his statement about theory in general. He tries to define the complex bearing of theory on criticism in *How to Read a Page*: "Theory and practice are not simply connected. It is true that bad theory does lead to bad reading. But good theory will not necessarily produce good reading. Between principles and actual words to be read comes the task of seeing which principles apply to which cases, the problem of recognising what the actual situation is. Theory can give no *direct* help in this, more's the pity! We have to rely on whatever sagacity we have developed."¹⁰ We have seen already how Wellek criticises Frye's excessive claim for theory. These differences, self-qualifications, and partial agreements reveal that we are here dealing with a very complex problem.

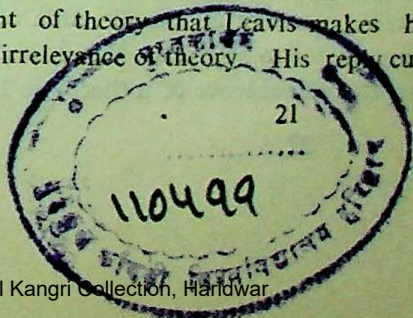
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It cannot be denied that close reading and analysis became very influential for quite a while in the twentieth century and that they have liberated criticism to a certain extent from its traditional concern with theory. They still enjoy a prestige and popularity not shared by any other approach, but they are fast losing their ground. The shortcomings and inadequacies of these methods have been argued by several critics. The one limitation which interests us here and which has been the subject of repeated attack is the failure to offer evaluations of the texts being considered. As John Holloway says, the analytical critics presume that "Evaluation need not take place. Analysis veritably disintegrates the bad; the good is proved by standing up to it."¹¹

Wayne Schumaker agrees that these analytical methods have, in the hands of many critics, degenerated into a mechanical tabulation of ambiguities, paradoxes, and so on, and have ceased to ensure a total critical response. In the preface to his *Elements of Critical Theory*, he says that analytical critics have been content, more often than he had supposed, "to analyze without evaluating."¹² He attributes this failure to the lack of a theory, and he devotes one part of his book to expounding a theory of value.

The theorists are right in saying that many analytical critics have failed to fulfil the evaluative function of criticism. The analytical critics, as we have seen, do not believe, in their turn, that theory can help in a satisfactory evaluation of literature. There exists no complete analysis of the matter, and no convincing argument outside Leavis, regarding this relation between theory and criticism.

Leavis is probably the first critic in this century to question the whole relevance of external theory in the practice of criticism. Even though Eliot, Richards, and Empson attack many prevalent theories, they do not make a forthright dismissal of theory. Eliot has done much work in the field of theory and Richards has not done much outside that field. Empson also spells out quite clearly the basis of his criticism. Leavis on the other hand writes without any theoretical preamble, nor does he provide his books with theoretical appendices. He has from the very beginning made it clear that theory of this kind is irrelevant to critical practice. But it is when René Wellek asks Leavis, in a review of *Revaluation*¹³ to defend his position with a statement of theory that Leavis makes his most clear explicit statement of the irrelevance of theory. His reply cuts



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through the usual arguments, counterarguments, and prejudices and demonstrates the basic differences between the literary critical and philosophical disciplines, establishing literary criticism as an independent and complete discipline.¹⁴ Leavis's essay is thus an unusually significant contribution to critical thought because it has something conclusive to say on an important and much-discussed subject without any of the partisanship or one-sidedness the subject usually produces.

It would seem proper to start with a brief review of Wellek's commentary on Leavis. Wellek has nothing but praise for Leavis's attempt in *Revaluation* to rewrite the history of English poetry from the twentieth century point of view. He only wishes Leavis had stated his assumptions underlying his criticism more explicitly and defended them more systematically. He says :

I do not doubt the value of these assumptions and, as a matter of fact, I share them with you for the most part, but I would have misgivings in pronouncing them without elaborating a specific defence or a theory in their defence. Allow me to sketch your ideal of poetry, your "norm" with which you measure every poet : your poetry must be in serious relation to actuality, it must have a firm grasp of the actual, of the subject, it must be in relation to life, it must not be cut off from direct vulgar living, it should not be personal in the sense of indulging in personal dreams and fantasies, there should be no emotion for its own sake in it, no afflatus, no mere generous emotionality, no luxury in pain or joy, but also no sensuous poverty, but a sharp, concrete realization, a sensuous particularity. The language of your poetry must not be cut off from speech, should not flatter the singing voice, should not be merely mellifluous, should not give, e.g., a mere general sense of motion, etc. You will recognize, of course, in this description tags from your book chosen from all chapters, and the only question I would ask you is to defend this position more abstractly and to become conscious that large ethical, philosophical, and, of course, ultimately, also aesthetic choices are involved.¹⁵

Wellek goes on to say that Leavis's insistence on a firm grasp of the actual predisposes him in the direction of a realist philosophy which makes him unable to appreciate the idealistic world-view of the Romantics. He regards the absence of a theory in Leavis a serious limitation. "Leavis's

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gravest failing seems to me," he reiterates in a recent essay on Leavis, "his distrust and even hatred for a theory : his resolute, complacent, nominalistic empiricism, his worship of the concrete and particular at any price."¹⁶

Leavis endorses Wellek's observation that he was making certain assumptions in his dealings with English poetry, but he says that he is not the philosopher to elaborate them into a satisfactory theory. He adds that though he is not relying upon his modesty for his defence, he feels that he can afford his modesty, as this does not in any way effect his claims to being a critic. He says :

Literary criticism and philosophy seem to me to be quite distinct and different kinds of disciplines—at least, I think they ought to be.... This is not to suggest that a literary critic might not, as such be the better for a philosophic training, but if he were, the advantage, I believe, would manifest itself partly in a surer realization that literary criticism is not philosophy. I pulled up just short of saying "the two disciplines...." a phrase that might suggest too great a simplification : it is no doubt possible to point to valuable writing of various kinds representing varying kinds of alliances between the literary critic and the philosopher. But I am not the less sure that it is necessary to have a strict literary criticism somewhere and to vindicate literary criticism as a distinct and separate discipline.¹⁷

Note that he does not deny the use of philosophical training to a critic, and that he does admit of instances of healthy alliances between the literary critic and the philosopher. He is not setting theory and criticism one against the other in simple opposition, as some anti-theorists do. He is merely setting up literary criticism as a separate and complete discipline, independent of philosophy. I take this to be a significant contribution to critical thought. Leavis's own criticism, moreover, gives his assertion the cogency and meaningfulness which actual demonstration can alone provide.

Leavis next goes on to discuss the difference between literary criticism and philosophy, and the difficulties in reconciling them in a working alliance, thus explaining in some measure why he believes a literary critic can afford the modesty of not being a philosopher at the same time. By analyzing Wellek's notion of the proper critical procedure—which is

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found implicit in Wellek's comments on Leavis, his formulations of Leavis's assumptions, and his evaluations of the Romantics—Leavis shows that a critic with a philosophic orientation has real difficulty in meeting the demands of literary criticism. Then he sketches the true procedure of the literary critic, and points out how a philosophic discipline is different from, and incompatible with this procedure :

By the critic of poetry I understand the complete reader : the ideal critic is the ideal reader. The reading demanded by poetry is of a different kind from that demanded by philosophy Philosophy, we say, is "abstract". . . and poetry "concrete". Words in poetry invite us not to "think about" and judge, but to "feel into" or "become"—to realize a complex experience that is given in the words. They demand not merely a fuller-bodied response, but a completer responsiveness—a kind of responsiveness that is incompatible with the judicial, one-eye-on-the-standard approach suggested by Dr. Wellek's phrase : "your 'norm' with which you measure every poet." (pp. 212-13)

But the difference between philosophy and criticism and the failure of a particular critic with a philosophic bias to come to terms with criticism do not by themselves prove that the two disciplines are irreconcilable. It should be ideally possible to work out a healthy alliance between the two, and in fact, as we have seen, Leavis admits of instances of harmonious interfusion of the literary critic and the philosopher. But he does not see any reason why a critic should aim at this coalescence, since he is going to be, after all, considered primarily for his work in literary criticism, and may in fact impair his sensibility in his attempt to reconcile his critical practice with the abstract discipline of theory. Leavis writes :

No doubt . . . a philosophic training might possibly—ideally would—make a critic surer and more penetrating in the perception of significance and relation and in the judgment of value. But it is to be noted that the improvement we ask for is of the critic, the critic as critic, and to count on it would be to count on the attainment of an arduous ideal. It would be reasonable to fear—to fear blunting of edge, blurring of focus, and muddled misdirection of attention : consequences of queering one discipline with the habits of another. The business of the literary critic is to attain a peculiar completeness of response and

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to observe a peculiarly strict relevance into commentary; he must be on his guard against abstracting improperly from what is in front of him and against any premature or irrelevant generalizing—of it or from it. His first concern is to enter into possession of the given poem (let us say) in its concrete fullness, and his constant concern is never to lose his completeness of possession, but rather to increase it. (p. 213)

Leavis has not, like some analytic critics, ignored the question of evaluation while attacking the theoretical one-eye-on-the-standard approach and while sponsoring a critical reading which ensures a completeness of possession and fullness of response. His analysis of the method of evaluation seems to me to cut new ground once again. When one talks about judgment or evaluation, one immediately thinks of recognizable norms. It is assumed that the critics who disregard clear and objective standards have to remain content with appreciation and if they venture to pass judgments their opinions come to be considered subjective and therefore inconsequential. But when Leavis rejects abstract theoretical standards, he neither does away with evaluation nor leaves it to individual taste. Contrasting what he sees as the valid process of evaluation with standard theoretical judgment of value, he writes :

The critic—the reader of poetry—is indeed concerned with evaluation, but to figure him as measuring with a norm which he brings up to the object and applies from the outside is to misrepresent the process. The critic's aim is, first, to realize as sensitively and as completely as possible this or that which claims his attention; and a certain valuing is implicit in the realizing. As he matures in experience of the new thing he asks, explicitly and implicitly : "Where does this come ? How does it stand in relation to . . . ? How relatively important does it seem?" And the organization into which it settles as a constituent in becoming "placed" is an organization of similarly "placed" things, things that have found their bearings with regard to one another, and not a theoretical system determined by abstract considerations. (p. 213)

A little later, he says more succinctly :

In making value-judgments (and judgments as to significance), implicitly or explicitly, he does so out of that completeness of

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possession and with that fullness of response. He doesn't ask, "How does this accord with these specifications of goodness in poetry?"; he aims to make fully conscious and articulate the immediate sense of value that "places" the poem. (pp. 213-14)

He clarifies two crucial phrases of the last sentence in the paragraph below :

Of course the process of "making fully conscious and articulate" is a process of relating and organizing, and the "immediate sense of value" should, as the critic matures with experience, represent a growing stability of organization (the problem is to combine stability with growth). What, on testing and retesting and wider experience, turn out to be my more constant preferences, what the relative permanencies in my response, and what structure begins to assert itself in the field of poetry with which I am familiar ? What map or chart of English poetry as a whole represents my utmost consistency and most inclusive coherence of response (p. 214)

The passages show that Leavis does not consider evaluation a separable concern from that of achieving fullness of response. He also does not treat evaluation as a final act, a conclusive note in the critical process. The evaluation and realization of the work are integral actions, for as he says "certain valuing is implicit in the realizing".

Although Leavis emphasizes in these passages a personal realization of the value of a given work, he is far from making evaluation a matter of mere individual taste. A critic, who goes about his job with the kind of deliberation described there, cannot be subjective in any narrow sense of the term. The objective character of Leavis's concept of evaluation is beautifully brought out elsewhere in the following passage :

A judgment is a real judgment, or it is nothing. It must, that is, be a sincere personal judgment; but it aspires to be more than personal. Essentially it has the form : 'This is so, is it not?' But the agreement appealed for must be real, or it serves no critical purpose and can bring no satisfaction to the critic. What his activity of its very nature aims at, in fact, is a collaborative exchange or commerce. Without a many-sided real exchange—the collaboration by which the object, the poem (for example), in which the individual minds meet, and at the

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same time the true judgments concerning it, are established—the function of criticism cannot be said to be working. Without a wide coherent public, capable of making its response felt—capable, that is, of taking a more or less active part in that collaboration—there is, for the critic, no effective appeal to standards. For standards (which are not of the order of the measures in the Weights and Measures Office) are 'there' only in and by the collaborative process that criticism essentially is.¹⁸

When Leavis rejects abstract theoretical standards, he neither does away with evaluation, nor leaves it to individual taste.

Leavis thinks that it should be possible to elicit principles from the consistency and coherence a critic achieves in criticism. In his view this is the only kind of theory that has any value. But he himself has not proceeded to do it because he thinks that he has already fulfilled his function as a critic, and he does not consider it a necessary part of the critic's function. He also observes that he does not see any profit in making his criteria more explicit than he has made them in his various particular analyses. He says that Wellek's formulations of the criteria of his criticism are unnecessary as no reader of his book would fail to see for himself the obvious assumptions Wellek is working with. Further, he thinks they are clumsy and inadequate. Leavis argues that he has given a precision of meaning and cogency to his criteria in actual comparisons and analyses that cannot be achieved in these broad, general statements of Wellek.

Let us now take a close look at Wellek's formulations in order to see in more detail how they miss the finer distinctions and discriminations of the standards operating in Leavis's criticism. We will thus come to a better appreciation of Leavis's view of literary criticism as a distinct and separate discipline, for the failure of these statements to give any adequate account of Leavis's basis of judgement tells us that criticism exists, not within, nor directly below philosophy or theory, but as an independent discipline. We will then come to appreciate better Leavis's exclusion of an explicit philosophy from his conception of the function of criticism.

One of Wellek's propositions reads as follows: "poetry must be in serious relation to actuality, it must have a firm grasp of the actual, of the subject, it must be in relation to life, it must not be cut off from direct

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vulgar living...." This statement shows only a vague and general grasp of the relevant criterion in the criticism of Leavis. It badly needs to be supported by explanations and examples. One would have to explain what is meant by "serious relation" to actuality and "firm grasp" of the actual. Otherwise it is difficult to see, for example, why Leavis thinks Milton's poetry, known for high seriousness, lacks serious relation to actuality, or how, for Leavis, Blake's poetry of transcendental experience shows a firm grasp of the actual. One might feel the terms "actuality," "object," "life," and "direct vulgar living" tend, in an indirect way, to limit Leavis's consciousness of life to the physical world, and, in fact, Wellek as we shall see proceeds to argue that Leavis is disposed towards realist philosophy. But these words and phrases, in the context of Leavis's criticism, have no such limiting connotation. It would be impossible to expect a critic with such a limited view of reality to appreciate the poetry of (say) Blake, Hopkins and the later Eliot, as Leavis does. Leavis demonstrates how these poets present their metaphysical experience as real, and of importance. He writes, for example, how the evoking, in the *The Four Quartets* of "what we ordinarily call reality as unreal, the astonishing resources with which the ways in which it is unreal are brought home to us, is part of the total process by which our need to recognize values and apprehensions not allowed for by the technologico-Benthamite ethos is enforced."¹⁹ I may also add that Leavis has not much interest in writers who are ignorant or unaware of these higher "values and apprehensions" and their relevance to human life. Fielding, Thackeray Shaw, and Wells and such others who have so much to say about "actuality" therefore have not much appeal for Leavis.

Wellek's formulation of the overall basis of Leavis's criticism offers further proof of the crudeness and imprecision of his theoretical language. After listing Leavis's assumptions Wellek describes their consequences in the following way: "Your insistence on a firm grasp on the actual predisposes you in the direction of a realist philosophy and makes you unappreciative of a whole phase of human thought: the coherence and even the comprehensibility of the romantic view of the world. I would like to demonstrate this by an analysis of a few examples from your chapters on the Romanticists."²⁰ Wellek goes on to discuss some of the poems of Blake, Wordsworth, and Shelley in the light of idealistic philosophy to show how coherent and satisfying the poems are, seen from the idealistic point of view, and argues that Leavis's criticism shows a lack of interest in their philosophy. A few other critics also have

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described Leavis's stand in these terms. Martin Jarrett-Kerr says that Leavis belongs to a realist-empiricist tradition which is cold toward idealist philosophy.²¹ Vincent Buckley and B. Das put forward a similar view.²²

Leavis appropriately neither accepts nor rejects in abstract terms this description of him as a critic disposed towards realist philosophy and averse to idealism. Obviously he considers it futile to enter into this kind of philosophic argument. He answers, however, Wellek's specific criticism of his comments on certain poems of the Romantics and examines Wellek's analyses of them. First of all Leavis takes exception to Wellek's treating Blake, Wordsworth, and Shelley together as writers sharing a common view of the world. He says "For the critic, for the reader whose primary interest is in poetry, those three poets are so radically different, immediately and finally, from one another that the offer to assimilate them in a common philosophy can only suggest the irrelevance of the philosophic approach" (p. 216). Next Leavis proceeds to show how Wellek's criticism of Blake, Wordsworth and Shelley fails to respond to what the poetry, the words on the page, reveals immediately and finally, and how it fails to appreciate the comments based on such a response. Wellek is shown to be paraphrasing and abstracting ideas from their poetry and clarifying them from the idealistic viewpoint without any regard for the actual poetry. In answer to Wellek's charge that he is out of sympathy with the belief of the Romantics, Leavis says, in conclusion, that "Dr. Wellek seems to me to assume too easily that the poet's essential 'belief' is what can be most readily extracted as such from his works by a philosopher" (p. 222).

The crudity and imprecision of theoretical language can again be seen illustrated by John Killham's article, "The Use of 'Concreteness' as an Evaluative Term in F. R. Leavis's 'The Great Tradition'."²³ Killham writes that Leavis used 'concreteness' and words associated with it, like 'specificity,' 'actuality,' 'realization,' and 'vividness,' for approval and 'cobwebbiness,' 'lack of specificity,' 'largesse of irrelevant life,' etc. for disapproval. It is true that these words and phrases recur in the two contexts Killham mentions. But other words and phrases recur there too: 'subtlety of organization,' 'range and subtlety of interest,' 'finesse of psychological and moral insight,' on the one hand, and 'immaturity,' 'lack of moral seriousness and depth,' etc., on the other. Killham singles out 'concreteness' from the wealth of considerations in Leavis's

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judgments and comes to the following erroneous conclusion :

'Concreteness' is one term available for registering the individual sense of excellent representation, but obviously it can be made to refer to a particular feature of a work, since properly understood it necessarily expresses only a general sense of artistic success, achieved in a host of different ways.²⁴

Leavis would be the last critic to question that artistic success is achieved in a host of different ways. One of the things which he keeps talking about in his discussion of major writers is the resourcefulness of their art. In the introduction to *The Great Tradition* he notes how the major novelists are distinguished from the rest in this way : "And as a recall to a due sense of difference it is well to start by distinguishing the few really great—the major novelists who count in the same way as the major poets, in the sense that they not only change the possibilities of the art for the practitioners and readers, but that they are significant in terms of the human awareness they promote...."²⁵ In his theoretical reduction Killham shows a failure to recognize the full scope of Leavis's literary criticism.

Killham would of course have been nearer the truth if he had proposed 'concreteness' as but one of Leavis's criteria. But this term in itself calls for much clarification and explanation. For example, since the term recurs not only in *The Great Tradition* but also in other books by Leavis, we would be interested to discover the whole range of its meaning for him. He does not use it everywhere in the simple sense in which he applies it to the Imagist poetry. He applies it also to the poetry of Donne, Keats, and Hopkins, the generalizing and abstract language of Johnson's *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, and the abstract language of *The Four Quartets*. In his analysis of Johnson's poem he remarks, for example, "To all Johnson's style 'abstract' is misleading if you don't go on at once to explain that abstractness here doesn't exclude concreteness...."²⁶ Talking about the abstract language of the *Quartets*, he says it in one place that it has, for him, the effect of the concrete.²⁷

It is clear by now that eliciting principles from literary criticism such as Leavis's is far from a practical task. There are far too many considerations behind Leavis's judgements. They touch not only upon questions of construction, awareness of life, etc. but also upon the world in which the critic lives.

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I indicate here one aspect of the difficulty of dealing with the problems of standards : You can neither separate it off, nor deal with it in the abstract. You can't profitably discuss the standards of criticism apart from the contemporary world.... To consider the nature of 'standards' involves considering the function of criticism in the full sense of that phrase, and a part from intelligence about the actual functioning in the world as we know it (where, that is, we have the closest access to the concrete), that consideration will hardly achieve a living strength, the strength of real understanding. Real understanding, in fact, can't be a mere theoretical matter, it will entail a real critical engagement in relation to the contemporary scene.²⁸

By now it should be fairly obvious why, for Leavis, it is inconceivable to set up theories of criticism. Andor Gomme rightly says in his introduction to *Attitudes to Criticism* : "I hold it a mark of a true sense of critical tact and relevance that theory (if it is to be made explicit at all) should be a construct out of practice, in which case it is quite likely that a general position can hardly even be convincingly made out apart from the particular judgments which give it substance."²⁹

The absence in Leavis's works of any sustained explicit theoretical statement should not be taken to mean his lack of concern with or interest in fundamentals. When L. A. Lerner³⁰ brought such a charge against him and the various other writers who collaborated in *Scrutiny*, he replied :

I don't need to take up Mr. Lerner's comparative judgment in order to reply that no body of criticism has been more concerned with discussing fundamentals than that which appeared in *Scrutiny*. He is able, paradoxically (in view of the high compliments he pays), to believe the opposite, or something like it, because he assumes that the type of any serious discussion of fundamentals must be the philosophical. So strong is this assumption that he can read my essay on Coleridge without registering its main preoccupation, which is to show that Coleridge's effective dealings with critical principle come from the critic, and not from the philosopher and the metaphysician, and are to be found, not in the formulations that invite us to discuss how far they are original, and how far they may be indebted to one or more of the German idealists, but in the criticism that could

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have been written only by an English literary critic—a writer born to the English language, inward with English poetry, and practised in its analysis. Similarly, Mr. Lerner seems not to have noticed that, in the reply to Dr. Wellek he refers to, so far from disclaiming any interest in defining the criteria and grounds of my criticism, I point out that they are defined in the actual process of the criticism with a precision (it seems to me) that makes the kind of defining Dr. Wellek favours intolerably clumsy and ineffective. . . . The conception, then, of literary criticism shared, in their various ways, by the writers who collaborated in *Scrutiny* was very different from what Mr. Lerner propounds. It was a conception, certainly, of the critic's business as being to maintain a disciplined fidelity to the work in front of him; but of criticism being *therefore* a specific discipline of thought, concerned essentially with fundamentals.³¹

Leavis has thus advanced, clearly and convincingly, a conception of criticism as a discipline, independent and separate from philosophy to which it has been, directly or indirectly, often subordinated. He has completely exposed that the philosophic orientation or interest generally tends to inhibit the critic from going into all the richness and complexity of the work of art *as* work of art. More often than not, the critic hastens to read meanings into the work or rushes to abstract meanings from it, without fully realizing what is *there* in words on the page. Naturally, the critic's interpretation will be far from adequate, and his understanding of its wider and deeper relevance far from complete. Leavis calls attention to the special procedures and principles of criticism which alone make the critic ensure a full realization of the work of art in all its significance and complexity, and which alone help him arrive at a valid judgment of its value and relevance. Numerous critics of the century have written critically on the validity of the philosophic approach to literature, but nobody has offered such a convincing argument against explicit theory. Nowhere outside Leavis either does one find an effective case made for the establishment of literary criticism as a distinct discipline in its own right. It is largely because of him that we today think of the critic as a man with a field of work of his own and with a job of a specialized nature.

F. R. LEAVIS ON CRITICISM AND THEORY

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NEO-ARISTOTALIANISM—METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

P. S. Sastri

The Aristotalian method demands that first we must assemble a wide range of facts, opinions, beliefs and theories along with common linguistic usages and observations. This must next be resolved into the fundamental issues or problems, so that we can be aware of the difficulties, puzzles, and seeming contradictions in the accepted beliefs and theories. Next we have to retrieve what is logically consistent and acceptable. After this stage arise the problems of making distinctions, presenting solutions, clarifying the problems and the like in order to arrive at a theory. In this methodological approach, we need the use of some concepts which can enable us to formulate the problems of a given discipline or art-form. The concepts are analysed in a separate discipline or branch of study. In other words, any enquiry in the manner of Aristotle presupposes the frame work of a system of philosophy and also the framework of a theory pertaining to the problem on hand. This is a kind of pluralistic contextualism.

The methodology we find in Aristotle's study of poetry and drama is not a dogmatic one. But it enable us to study literature within the larger framework of a metaphysical system. Literary criticism is a branch of philosophy. Thus Lollata studied Bharata's theory of *rasa* as a follower of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā Śāṅkuka as a Naiyāyika, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as a Sāṅkhya-yoga-Advaitin, and Abhinavagupta as a believer in Śākta-Advaita. Whatever claims may be made by critics on behalf of their theories, these theories have their roots or they refer to the philosophical systems which alone can justify them. This is because a subject is capable of being studied from different aspects and in different ways. Since we cannot ignore the fact that the artist is the unique maker of a certain product, we have to study the nature of making and the nature of the product. In such a study, we can proceed from assumed general principles

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to the works where we can find them, or we proceed from observed instances to their necessary and sufficient antecedents by applying casual inference. Similarly, we can study the relation of the parts to the whole in the light of their function or in the light of their participation in the whole.

As McKean puts it, "the criticism of art is influenced in a peculiarly nice balance by commitment to principle, determination by subject, and use of method."¹ The method here is that of Aristotle. This method is modified to explain the nature of lyric poetry. It employs certain concepts some of which were mentioned by the ancient thinkers. These concepts have been examined. Any critical enquiry must deal with "an organization of terms, propositions, and arguments the peculiar character of which, in any instance, depends as much upon the factors operative in the construction of the discourse itself as upon the nature of the objects it envisages or the mind and circumstances of its author."² The statements made by the critic can have a meaning and a relevance only within the framework of the concepts and distinctions he accepts. The critic must have a clear knowledge of the particular works, be able to define and analyse his terms and be capable of responding sensitively to the works. In order to analyse and define, one must know what kind of thing his object is.³

The present enquiry is concerned with lyric poetry. Here we have to be precise about the terms that can be employed since there are varied forms which are treated as lyrics by most readers and critics. As R. S. Crane puts it : "Forms, materials, techniques, individual achievements are the major variables which must be combined somehow in any adequate narrative history of literary forms."⁴ Even if one does not attempt a historical survey, the major variables have to be taken into consideration.

Lyrics include song, hymn, panegyric ode, epitaph, elegy, ode, sonnet, complaint, poem of exile or neglect or cruelty or melancholy, meditative poem, and monologue. Song deals with love, religion, patriotism, home, and nature. In a logical sequence we get the panegyric ode, the imitative lyric, the simple lyric of feeling, the lyric of character, and the lyric of metaphysical thought. In some lyrics the poet observes an image, a situation, or a mood with a detached imaginative energy. In the recognition lyric the poet feels from experience into a vision.

Wyatt and Nash have written logical lyrics, while Collins gave the

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associationist lyric. Gray's "Elegy" involves the correlation of "the moral character of the speaker, the situation which compels his effort at resolution, and the steps of meditation through which his choice is expressed." It is "imitative lyric of moral choice."⁵ Yeats' "Sailing to Byzantium," says Olson, is a "lyric of choice" in which moral choices form an analogue to the plot.

In spite of these varieties we find in the lyrics reaction to physical nature, ideas and feelings of human reference, an introspective moods and emotions.⁶ When a lyric is characterised by a concentration of sound and ambiguity of sense, we get a kind of religious lyric like that practised by Hopkins. But when a lyric becomes symbolic, personal, associative and meditative, it becomes subjective and undramatic. As Stevens progressed, his verse became internalised, and the opposing forces assume symbolic meanings. The poem then becomes a thing existing somewhere between the external and internal processes. "The Sun this March"⁷ is a deeply confessional poem which is also meditative. A similar one is "The Bed of old John Zeller" included in *Transport to Summer*.

The varied forms of the lyric do appear to share certain common characteristics because of which they differ from dramatic and narrative poems. It is necessary to note the distinction before we proceed further into the problem. The lyric is usually described as a brief composition which tends to involve intense emotion, which is the most personal form of literary expression, which voices the poet's innermost feelings, and which may involve certain verse-forms rather than others. Olson rejects this account. First, the epigram too is a brief composition. Secondly, intense emotion is present even in *King Lear* and *Crime and Punishment* which are not lyrics. Thirdly, we cannot accept the statement that lyric is the most personal form of literary expression because in the case of anonymous poems and others, we have no way of discovering the personal experiences of the poets; "it is frequently controverted in cases where we do know the feelings of poet."⁸ This is taking a too narrow view of the lyric. The poet himself may warn us against reading into "the hidden intention of the writer."⁹ But as Stevens himself said about his "Le Monocle De Men Oncle", "I had in mind simply a man fairly well along in life, looking back and talking in a more or less personal way about life."¹⁰

Originally the lyric was meant to be sung. Poetry meant for singing must have a public quality because singing involves listeners. Then

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the themes would be public events like the celebration of an event, or the death of some one; or the lyric may express something that arouses awe, regret, delight, or thankfulness. The Odes of Pindar are good examples of this. The situations are common and so are the events. Possibly this is the kind of lyric of which it is said: "We can and do enjoy lyrics, moreover, without knowing anything about the poet; which is enough to show that reflection on his actual feelings has nothing to do with the recognition of the form or with the pleasure we derive from it as a particular form."¹¹ But consider the lines from Stevens—

I am the personal,
Your world is you. I am my world.¹²

We may not know anything about the poet. But we need the poet's authentic voice. The emotion expressed must be deeply felt, and the intellectual content must be subordinated to the emotion.

More generally, the lyric is a short poem expressing a personal feeling. There may be a self-communing. The poet may reveal private confidences. The emotion is mostly a personal one and it is peculiar to the poet or to the speaker. The lyric poet can describe the object by invocation or statement; or he can present a situation; or he may begin by stating the idea: All through he has to preserve the emotional unity. Then the images will be unique, and the lyric manner will be devoid of any formalism. As a result it will not evoke stock responses.

The intellectual lyric of Stevens takes up abstract ideas and topical references and transforms them into the concrete stuff of poetry. In a 1945 *Sewanee Review* article named "The Genre of Wallace Stevens," Hi Simon stated that Stevens gives us "a lyric of ideas, an intellectual lyric." It is a lyric which is partly determined by wit, which is "of the same general nature as that of the Metaphysicals... It is the factor of reasonableness underlying the lyric graces of his peculiarly characteristic poem of ideas."¹³ The ideas do not follow a rational or logical order, but the poet's private associations and identifications.

The Greek lyric has richness, splendour, delicacy, and subtlety of form. Bacchylides and Pindar have given choric lyrics. The lyrics of Sappho, Alcaeus, and Anacreon have clarity, frankness and music. The Latin lyric lost music but became in the hands of Catullus and Horace more literary. With the Elizabethans and the cavaliers in England, the impetus

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came from a personal feeling or from a fashion. The lyric embodied intensely personal emotions fusing them with meditations on social and political problems during the age of Wordsworth. The Victorian lyric developed a strict descriptive objectivity. During the present century the lyric gained a meditative intensity. Here we have the spontaneity of an image and of an idea one wishes to be true. The result is that the modern lyric is intense because of metaphor. That is, the emotion is now indirect and yet complex.

Still the lyric has to express feeling and it must dignify the feeling by giving it a proper form. The feeling organises, shapes, and defines the meaning of the experience. Many lyrics in the past were musical. The musical quality made the poets conscious of singleness of the theme : one theme one emotion. Then the poet can contemplate on this emotion and take a deep interest in all its phases. The Musical quality intensifies the effect.

The lyrics of Stevens reveal the urbane manner of Jonson and Herrick, the simple but severe dignity of Milton, the floating images and ambiguous words of Mallarme, and the ironic vision of Laforgue. At the same they are truly personal. As Robert Pack observes : "Stevens' imagination is his most personal possession, and he presents its activity to us with vivid directness; we come to know the adroitness of his mind, touch what he touches and see what he sees. There is feeling in Stevens' poetry although it rarely contains the voltage of passion."¹⁴ The tone of irony pervading the poems makes them look impersonal. In a poem like "Le Monocle de Mon Oncle," vision replaces sight and within the poem we notice consciousness and selfconsciousness. Stevens resolves the situation with the help of humour, wit and irony.

In lyric poetry we are concerned with ideas in their emotional aspect. Transformed by the emotion, the idea appears as an image which is more important. At times the lyric poet employs the narrative technique and its devices in order to make the poem approximate to a direct sensation. Stevens' poems do meet this demand. Yet much of his poetry is an expression of the same character who believed :

Reality as a thing seen by the mind,
Not that which is but that which is apprehended,
A mirror, a lake of reflection in a room.¹⁵

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But as Olson observed, in Stevens we do not find any poem that involves "an exciting external situation, or the drama of a tremendous moral choice, or violent and immediate passion."¹⁶ Stevens is always trying to be aloof, to be an observer, because he views men collectively. He does not appear to participate in the "fundamental ecstasy and anguish of the human soul." Yet Olson sees in Stevens' poems "a dialectic of the imagination, playing perpetually on the diverse relations of things, ideas, images and emotions."¹⁷ In reality Stevens takes up an object or an idea and relates to a variety of images. Each image embodies one aspect of the emotion. Sometimes, he relates a mood or an image to varied objects and ideas. This is an extension of a pattern found in music. But the result is not a musical form. What he lacks in terms of passion, he supplies with his images which are related to ideas and feelings. But images by themselves cannot contribute to the realization of the nature of good lyric poetry. Moreover, proceeding through images, Stevens ignores the logical structure.

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THE GENESIS AND NATURE OF WORDSWORTH'S 'CRISIS'

R. S. Pathak

William Wordsworth was one of the most popular poets at one time. His pervasive influence made him "in old age more popular than Byron in his grave".¹ In the Victorian era, he was considered as one of the chief glories of English Poetry.² Not many people, however, would be carried away now by what Hopkins calls his "particular grace, his *charisma*".³ According to one estimate, most modern readers find Wordsworth's mysticism "nebulous", his ethics "sentimental" and the gamut of experience explored by him "very limited".⁴ Besides changes in the readers' taste, the fluctuation in his own creative powers, which has generally been attributed to a 'crisis', seems to have been responsible for diminution in his fame. Wordsworth's 'crisis' presents a "peculiar challenge"⁵ to us, and a detailed analysis of its genesis and nature would help us understand the man and his *obiter dicta* better.

Wordsworth's 'crisis' is concerned with the disappearance of something very special and vital to the poet. He variously calls it 'celestial light', 'visionary gleam' and 'the glory and the freshness of dream'. His sense of loss of vision, however, was not merely "the overwhelming consciousness that he was no longer a child".⁶ As Bowra suggests, "perhaps the crisis was more severe than he [Wordsworth] realised. It lay in the centre of his creative life".⁷ The 'crisis' was so grave that it severely shook the poet. It had far-reaching consequences and had a considerable effect on his later poetry.

Wordsworth's *Ode on Intimations of Immortality* (1802-4) states his 'crisis' in so many words :

There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream,
The earth, and every common sight,

*I express my gratitude to Professor Mohan Lal for his encouragement and suggestions. For conclusions and shortcomings of the paper, however, I alone am responsible.

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To me did seem
 Appârelled in celestial light,
 The glory and the freshness of a dream.
 It is not now as it hath been of yore:—
 Turn wheresoe'er I may,
 By night or day,
 The things which I have seen I now can see no more.
 The Rainbow comes and goes,
 And lovely is the Rose,
 The Moon doth with delight
 Look round her when the heavens are bare,
 Waters on a starry night
 Are beautiful and fair;
 The sunshine is a glorious birth;
 But yet I know, where'er I go,
 That there hath past away a glory from the earth.

* * * *

—But there's a Tree, of many, one,
 A single Field which I have looked upon,
 Both of them speak of something that is gone :

The Pansy at my feet
 Doth the same tale repeat :

Whither is fled the visionary gleam ?
 Where is it now, the glory and the dream ?

The loss lamented in the *Ode* however, not a new discovery. Even before it, certain other poems give vent to a sense of change that affected the poet's inner life irrecoverably. The Wordsworthian attitude to it is reflected even in the *Lucy Poems* (1798), which, like many other poems, "deal precisely with the poet's experience of the paradox of loss and ultimate gain".⁸ A sudden alarm for future runs like an underground swell of water in *Resolution and Independence* (1802). The problem finds an explicit mention in his *Tintern Abbey* (1798), which has been called "the culminating statement of his poetic identity" and which seeks to "affirm the creed of years to come".⁹ This poem anticipates the *Ode* in significant respects. The poet attempts in it to make permanent the vision that is threatened by the processes of change and growth, which he refers to as 'such loss'. Till his adolescence, nature was to him 'all in all': the sounding cataracts haunted him 'like a passion'; the colours and forms of the external nature were then . . . an appetite, a feeling and a love, that

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brought to him 'aching joys' and 'dizzy raptures'. 'That time [however] is past', but the poet voices no regrets :

Nor for this
Faint I, nor mourn nor murmur: other gifts
Have followed; for such loss, I would believe,
Abundant recompense.

The 'passion' and the 'appetite' of 'thoughtless youth' have given place to thoughtful maturity. By way of compensation, the poet claims to have learnt

To look on nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth; but hearing often times
The still, sad music of humanity,
Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power
To chasten and subdue.

Cleanth Brooks has called the *Ode* "a parable about poetry".¹⁰ The poem, however, has a greater interest as a personal document. It may be regarded as Wordsworth's last word on the central problem of his creative life. Its three parts deal in turn with the 'crisis', an explanation and a consolation. The poet tells of virtually the same loss as told in *Tintern Abbey*, though with a grave, questioning, anxious mood and with an eye on a different 'recompense'. At the height of his poetic career, he is shocked to find that the source of his inspiration and his integral vision has almost abandoned him and deprived him of his most cherished strength. It has been the bedrock of the poetical faith of the Wordsworth of the great decade and on it throve his creative powers. Having realised his loss, the poet tries to console himself (He 'will grieve not, rather find/ Strength in what remains behind') by seeking compensation in the 'shadowy recollections' of childhood, in 'truths that wake/ To perish never,. and

In the primal sympathy
Which having been must ever be;
In the soothing thoughts that spring
Out of human suffering;
In the faith that looks through death,
In years that bring the philosophic mind.

- The poetry of consolation, however, does not bear any intimate relation

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to the poetry of loss and the 'philosophic mind' seems to be only a poor substitute for the earlier poetic vision.

Lionel Trilling, on the other hand, denies any loss of vision in the *Ode* "I believe", he affirms, "the *Ode* is not only not a dirge sung over departing powers but actually a dedication to new powers".¹¹ Trilling's defence of the *Ode*, though illuminating in some ways, is substantially unconvincing. It fails to take into account its incoherence as also the serious and insistent stock-taking by the poet himself. The *Ode* is undoubtedly "the climax of his art" and "marks the turning-point in his psychological history".¹² Even its form and style correspond to the changes in the poet's temper.

The *Ode* and *Tintern Abbey* are not the only poems which bear witness to the poet's 'crisis'. His *Ode to Duty* (1805) also expresses his realisation of the desiccation of his imaginative powers. Groom aptly calls it "a poem of 'completed change'".¹³ As 'the genial sense of youth', upon which Wordsworth had relied so far, seemed no longer a secure guide to him, he, getting tired of the 'unchartered freedom', began to long for 'a repose that ever is the same'. One more poem entitled *Eleziac Stanzas on a Picture of Peel Castle* (1805) records the same feelings. The poet confides how the 'deep distress' caused by his brother's death had 'humanised' the poet's soul, making him submit 'with mind serene' to a new ethical control. As F. E. Halliday points out, once again in this poem Wordsworth "mourned the loss of the visionary power, of 'the light that never was, on sea or land'".¹⁴ Finally, another poem *Composed upon an Evening of Extraordinary Beauty and Splendour* (1819) also refers to the change Wordsworth underwent in the later years. He 'fruitlessly deplored' in it 'the light full early lost', because he felt powerless to regain, 'the visionary splendour that 'fades' while the 'night approaches with her shade'.

This is, briefly, Wordsworth's own account of his 'crisis' of creative powers. He realised the loss and tried to derive consolation from what remained behind, but that was a poor substitute for the earlier integrated poetic vision. Coleridge, too, had to face a similar predicament, which finds an expression in his *Dejection : An Ode* :

There was a time when, though my path was rough,
This joy within me dallied with distress,
And all misfortunes were but as the stuff
Whence Fancy made me dream of happiness :

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For hope grew round me, like the twining vine,
And fruits, and foliage, not my own, seemed mine.
But now afflictions bow me down to earth :
Nor care I that they rob me of my mirth;
But oh! each visitation
Suspends what nature gave me at my birth,
My shaping spirit of Imagination.

Unlike Coleridge, however, Wordsworth had something tough and bellicose in him and, making a compromise, he continued to write poetry over forty years. His poetry, affirms Douglas Bush, would have been greater if it had been born not of "a too simple harmony of soul", but of a "conflict between the ideals of 'unchartered freedom' and order".¹⁵

Writing on the later poetry of Wordsworth, Groom maintains that "There was no catastrophic decline in Wordsworth's poems in 1808, and [that] much of what he wrote after that date was, at the lowest, a development of his earlier work or a valuable commentary upon it".¹⁶ There is no denying the fact, however, that during his later poetic career there came a marked change in Wordsworth's creative powers. Even Thrilling admits that "a falling off" in the poet's creativity took place by the time he composed the *Ode*. Arnold's formula of the golden decade, i.e. 1798 to 1808, has been repeated by a many Wordsworthian critics. Helen Darbishire, for example, states that Wordsworth's claim to be "a poet in his own right, original and unique", rests upon the output of his great decade, but for which he would have ranked today as "a distinguished but unequal minor poet".¹⁷ Batho, on the other hand, would extend his "great period" upto 1815 at least.¹⁸ There may be a difference of opinion among critics about the span of Wordsworth's really creative period, but the decay in his poetic powers has been recognised by most of them. The poet himself was not unaware of this decay. As early as 1800, he had warned his prospective readers that they might 'frequently have to struggle with feelings of strangeness and awkwardness' in his works. Then, in his Essay Supplementary to the Preface of 1815, he confided : 'As the mind grows serious from the weight of life, the range of its passions is contracted'. 'His later poetry illustrates his limitations. He who 'would keep/ Power', he wrote at the age of seventy-one, 'must resolve to cleave to it through life,/ Else it deserts him, surely as he lives'. Wordsworth could not do so and hence his failure in his later poems.

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The decline in Wordsworth's poetic powers has been explained in various ways. H. W. Garrod, for example, puts it down to the withdrawal of the intelligent criticism and guidance of Coleridge, "the guardian angel of Wordsworth's poetical genius".¹⁹ It is true that Wordsworth valued Coleridge's friendship highly, and in one of his letters, he declared that Coleridge and his 'beloved sister', Dorothy, were the two beings to whom his 'intellect' was 'most indebted'.²⁰ But Wordsworth's genius was not of the metaphysical order—it was 'sensational',—and Garrod's diagnosis that it failed due to "a metaphysical atrophy", caused by Coleridge's separation, is hardly convincing.

Some other critics are of the view that the diminution in Wordsworth's creative powers was the nemesis of a repressed passion. Bateson, for instance, holds that the poetic impulse in him was probably exhausted by a series of moral crisis punctuating his early life.²¹ Lacey also thinks that the poet was haunted throughout his life by "an indefinable sense of guilt" and that, despite all his solemn concern for human dignity, he longed "for the happiness of a clear conscience".²² It is Herbert Read, however, who is most explicit in pointing out that the cause of the deterioration of Wordsworth's poetic powers is to be found in the psychological development of the poet himself, which was chiefly the result of his affair with Annette Vallon. He comments : "Nothing happened compared in importance with this love affair. It transformed his being; I think that this passion and all its melancholy aftermath was the deepest experience of Wordsworth's life—the emotional complex from which all his subsequent career flows in its intricacy and uncertainty".²³ The affair and its aftermath, Read feels, had so frustrated the poet that he was no longer capable of excellent poetic compositions. Wordsworth's affair with Annette, however, may have been one of the secondary causes of his poetic deterioration, but Read and others have elaborated this viewpoint out of all proportions and we need not look for the answer in complexes and repressions alone.

Certain other reasons have been suggested for Wordsworth's 'crisis', which seem to have a more direct bearing on his poetic personality. While trying to find an answer to the problem, David Perkins, for example, concludes that Wordsworth is the "greatest instance" of the "ideal of sincerity" and that his later verses "illustrate the potential liabilities" of this type of poetry. If the poetry of sincerity is pursued remorselessly, he adds, it can devastatingly cloud the purity of self expression, and the

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poet running after this ideal is very likely to lose his earlier mode of writing irrecoverably.²⁴

It has been, further, maintained that the atrophy of the poetic powers in Wordsworth was a natural outcome of the coming of his middle age, which resulted in the loss of his organic sensibility.²⁵ Commenting on his premature ageing, John Jones remarked : "Age has come upon him as a 'removal' or 'severing', and he has no other word to tell of".²⁶ De Quincey also noted how the strangers coming to the Wordsworths invariably supposed them fifteen to twenty years older than what they were. He attributed the poet's premature ageing to "the secret fire of a temperament too fervid; the self-consuming energies of the brain, that gnaw at the heart and life-strings for ever".²⁷ Such a condition was hardly suitable for sustained poetic flights.

Certain other reasons advanced for Wordsworth's 'crisis' may also be mentioned. "The crisis in his poetic life", suggests Groom, "was the inevitable weakening, with time, of his 'genial' spirits".²⁸ The Grierson, however, it was due to exhaustion of the intensity of the poet's earlier emotional life.²⁹ Yet overwork is another factor held responsible for the withering of his genius.³⁰ Basil Willey, on the other hand, holds a different view: According to him, the poet's poetry, which was largely conditioned by the "reality-standards" of his time, took on a psychological turn, and if he had not failed to remember that poetry has other tasks as well, his genius might not have atrophied so soon.³¹ All these various hypotheses are interesting as intellectual surmises, but they do not seem to provide the most reliable solution to the problem of the Wordsworthian 'crisis'.

We need not discuss certain other factors [such as the poet's 'incestuous' (!) relations with his sister], which have been occasionally suggested to account for Wordsworth's loss of poetic powers. A reference may, however, be made to his personal tribulations. F. Beatty presents the Wordsworth of Rydal Mount as "a rather tall man, personable, and of amazing vitality", whose "capacity for physical and intellectual enjoyment... was above that of the ordinary man". "To the end", she maintains, "Wordsworth was vigorous in body, vigorous in mind, and vigorous in his emotional life".³² This does not, however, tell us the whole story. Ever since he was seventeen, Wordsworth suffered from violent headaches and, later, from fits of depression. He was also afflicted with a serious eye trouble. In her letter of 8 October 1837, Dorothy wrote

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from Rydal Mount to her cousin Edward : "Thro' God's mercy I am now calm and easy, and I trust my dear Brother's eyes are in a fair way of perfect recovery."³³ Wordsworth's eyes, however, never recovered perfectly. The disease became so serious that during "the last forty years of his life he was living under the threat of blindness, . . . he was frequently in severe pain, and . . . for long periods, twice at least for more than a year at a time, he was physically incapable of reading and writing and of continuous poetic composition".³⁴

Furthermore, his love for Coleridge, Annette and Dorothy ran into difficulties, and again and again, the members of the Wordsworth Circle were struck by tragedies : Coleridge and De Quincey had become opium addicts; Charles and Mary Lamb, Southey, his wife and Dorothy had shown uneasy symptoms of insanity, and finally, as the poet himself puts in his *Extempore Effusion on the Death of James Hogg* (1835) :

Like clouds that rake the mountain-summits,
Or waves that own no curbing hand,
How fast has brother followed brother
From sunshine to the sunless land !

Most heart-rending of all, however, were his personal calamities. In February 1805, his sailor brother, John, was drowned, and the event was "the most terrible blow that either William or Dorothy had ever suffered".³⁵ Later on, the poet's children, Catherine, Thomas and Dora died sudden deaths, and Dorothy, who understood him as no one else did and 'preserved him still a poet' (*Prelude* X. 905-20) in his worst time of stress, fell a victim to arteriosclerosis and died after a prolonged illness in 1855. These various factors must have dealt the poet's morale a severe blow and sapped his poetic vitality.

The Wordsworth was not the same man again is confirmed by the impressions of various persons who paid a visit to him during the last years of his life. Most of them noted a typical hardness in his manners. Lord Jeffrey, for example, found him "not in the very least Lakish now, or even in any degree poetical, but rather a hard and a sensible wordly sort of man".³⁶ In his letter to the *Caernarvon Herald* of 6 November 1852, the Welsh poet John Jones also emphasised the poet's shrewdness and thought that he would be "a capital hand to drive a hard bargain with a Welsh pig driver at a fair".³⁷ These estimates remind one of Carlyle's, who described Wordsworth as a "a cold, hard, silent, practical

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man". Hazlitt, Bryant and Emerson also noticed certain idiosyncracies in the poet and were rather put off by his 'awkward integrity'. In his *Reminiscences*, Rawnsley records evidences in proof of a certain narrowness in him, both as a man and as a poet; 'twoaks could hear sounds like a wild beast coming fra t' rocks, and childer were scared fit to be dead a' most'. These impressions may be somewhat exaggerated, but they testify to the fact that there did come a marked change in Wordsworth's attitude.

It has been remarked that Wordsworth "did not find his true destiny".³⁸ But he was not alone in facing a catastrophic decline in his creative powers. The case of Coleridge has already been alluded to. John Ruskin recorded a similar experience in his life. Born of his "continual perception of Sanctity in the whole of Nature", his feelings "remained in their full intensity till . . . [he] was eighteen or twenty, and then, as the reflective and practical power increased, and the 'cares of the world' gained upon . . . [him], faded gradually away, in the manner described by Wordsworth in his *Intimations of Immortality*".³⁹ When a poet's creative vision, which is largely a God-given faculty, ceases to come upon him or comes but feebly and fitfully, it cannot be helped. The spirit bloweth where it listeth. But for a few exceptional cases where the poet is endowed with a ratiocinative faculty, it is very difficult to acquire intellectual maturity and maintain youthful imaginative vision—'a dark/ Inscrutable workmanship that reconciles/ Discordant elements, [and] makes them cling together/ In one society' (*Prelude* I. 341-44).

We cannot appreciate the full implications of this loss unless we remember that in Wordsworth's case inspiration is of particular importance. As Arnold reminds us, "No poet, perhaps, is so evidently filled with a new and sacred energy when the inspiration is upon him; no poet, when it fails him, is so left 'weak as is breaking wave'".⁴⁰ Wordsworth, it may be pointed out, had a great reliance on imaginative faculty. He called it as 'that chemical faculty by which elements of the most different nature and distant origin are blended together into one harmonious and homogenous whole'.⁴¹ It was, to him, nothing less than 'the vision and faculty divine', an 'organ of truth' that 'shapes and creates'. The primary effect of imaginative power in his work has been said to be "the manifestation of a visible object as the emblem of invisible truth".^{41a} Once we recognise the value of imagination in his poetic composition, it is all the more pathetic to note

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that the 'esemplastic' power of imagination was one of the first elements to drop out of his creative life. Despite the poet's tall talks of 'imaginative heights that yield/ Far-stretching views into eternity' (*Excursion* IV. 188-89), and Dorothy's assurances that in composition she could 'perceive no failure' and that her brother's 'imagination seemed as vigorous as in his youth',⁴² a gradual wane in poetic powers did affect his imagination adversely.

Wordsworth's failure as a great poet lay in the failure of his imagination, as is evident from his later poetry. In one of his later poems called *Processions* (1820) he derides imagination as a 'licentious craving'. Bereft of imaginative powers, he had to rely on 'fancy', whose 'law' is 'capricious' and 'effects' are 'surprising, playful, ludicrous, amusing, te der, or pathetic'. He also tried to take recourse to the poetry of wit. A line in another poem, *Love Lies Bleeding* (? 1842)—' 'Tis Fancy guides me willing to be led,/ Though by a slender thread'— is symptomatic of his new stance. By the time he composed his later poems, his attitude towards nature had also profoundly changed. Acknowledging his indebtedness to the 'Powers' of Nature, he had declared earlier that he found in them 'A never-failing principle of joy,/ And purest passion' (*Prelude* II. 465)—the 'grand elementary principle of pleasure', by which alone man 'knows, and feels, and likes, and moves'.⁴³ In due course of time, however, Wordsworth ceased to find in nature the anchor of his purest thoughts, the guide, the guardian of his heart and the soul of all his moral being. His "visionary power had certainly failed", affirms Smith, "and he was less in *en rapport* with Nature, by which alone . . . [his poetic] power was stimulated".⁴⁴ Moreover, Wordsworth's poetic genius was essentially rooted in the senses, and his passing away from the enjoyment of nature through senses was bound to have serious consequences. The poet emerges as the last great representative in English poetry in "the humanistic tradition in which the poet is a spokesman for humanity"— "a priest and teacher who wears the mantle of the poet-seer".⁴⁵

While passing the final verdict on Wordsworth's crisis and its literary and personal consequences, it should be noted that in asking what actually happened to the poet during those crucial years "simple answers do not work."⁴⁶ One thing is, however, certain that the decay in his poetic powers was not sudden but a gradual process. No sharp break in his poetic personality can be pointed out at any period of his life, though he tended to become with years, like many other persons, somewhat stiff and inflexible. This inflexibility might have been due to his lack

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of capacity of adaptation to the years. T. S. Eliot has summarised the dilemma which a poet has to face in his middle age. The poet, according to him, has three choices : "to stop writing altogether, to repeat himself with perhaps an increasing skill or virtuosity, or by taking thought to adapt himself to middle age and find a different way of working". Most poets in their middle age tend to cling to their experiences of youth and mimic insincerely their earlier work or start writing only from their head. There is another and even worse temptation (to which Wordsworth himself was not immune), i.e., "that of becoming dignified, of becoming public figures with only a public existence—coat-racks hung with decorations and distinctions, doing, saying, and even thinking and feeling only what they believe the public expects of them".⁴⁷ Wordsworth continued to write poetry for about forty years even when the decline in his imagination powers had begun to affect his creativity. Becoming an official comforter, he composed quite a few purposeful poems, quite a few of which appear to be "rather plodding and mechanical".⁴⁸ In them he exploits a new subject matter : he talks more of political affairs, widely known sites, events drawn from history or literature, and whatever else has a more obviously public existence. In both his development and decline, however, the poet appears to us as a representative of the normal man, and it is not surprising that the 'crisis' and its aftermath left such an indelible impression on his later poetry.

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M. M. Khan

The poems on the theme of love which the present chronology of Dickinson's poems tentatively places in 1864-84, record the temporal rather than the divine experience of love. It is difficult to support from the evidence of these poems the view that this period presents a progressive pattern of divine love evolving from Amor or profane love in the poems of the period 1861-63.¹ The love that is described in the poems of the period 1864-84, while glorified by elysian-heavenly attributes, remains essentially human in its final identity. Though described in dual temporal-spiritual terms in most poems, it closely resembles the Platonic Eros in a few poems (like, J-917, 809, 491, 673) especially in its supersensuous creative aspect as the creator of the cosmos, that redeems the abstract world of Platonic Ideas and their abstract plenitude of Being by a transformation into the temporal possibilities of the Becoming. The love described in Dickinson's poems of the period comes very close to the romantic tradition of love which employs temporal-spiritual, natural-supernal, and sensuous-supersensuous terms, but its ultimate identity is human. When Dickinson chooses to address her love either to God or Jesus, the imagery and diction in the few poems which describe it are unambiguous. "Far from love the Heavenly Father leads the Chosen Child" (J-1021) and "Unto Me?" I do not know you—" (J-964) deal unambiguously with love for God and Jesus respectively. The technique of the seventeenth century metaphysical poetry which uses temporal (profane love) imagery to describe divine love, and which is just antithetical to Dickinson's technique which clothes human love in divine love imagery, has been falsely applied to interpret love in Dickinson's poems as divine love and religious passion.

It is the human love that is elevated in her poems to the twin temporal-supertemporal level where the identity of the loved ones remains

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essentially human. " 'Twas love—not me—" (J-394) parallels the speaker's crucifixion in love with that of Jesus, and thus the lover is contra-distinguished from Jesus (also J-456). The projection of love into a temporal-spiritual world seems to be engendered by a sensibility that has suffered pain for so long that it turns its perception from the world of sense to a supersensuous realm of imaginative vision. The persecuted sensibility visualizes consummation which perennially eluded it in the world of sense and the drama of love is shifted to a world beyond the sense. But this new supersensuous, imaginative, and visionary world, very akin to our familiar Xanadus in imaginative quality but without their extravagant fantasies, retains the iconography of the realm of sense. The imaginative projection of love into the world of imagination or supernal vision embodied in images and symbols drawn from the sensuous world, creates an approximation so that the two antagonistic worlds interfuse :

'Tis Compound Vision—
 Light—enabling Light—
 The Finite—furnished
 With the Infinite—
 Convex—and Concave Witness—
 Back—toward Time—
 And forward—
 Toward the God of Him—

(J-906, st. ii)

The shock of the paradox of the mortal-immortal love in the temporal-supertemporal realm, which creates a dramatic sense in the heart of her otherwise gnostic and elusively plain lyrics, informs all poetry written after 1863. With minor exceptions, the poems after 1863 reveal a striving towards an imaginative vision, a poetic perception of an oxymoronic realm of love (characterized simultaneously by the temporal and the supertemporal, the mortal and the immortal) which creates a new dimension of existence—the transient and the timeless, the spatial and the non-spatial are fused into a single vision. This vision of terrestrial-ethereal love is a metamorphosis of the tantalizingly unfulfilled earthly passion; it has a haunting quality about it. Dickinson's imagination transforms despair in human relationship in which moral or social tradition frustrates freedom, into a realm that facilitates union and harmony.

This supernal realm earns our credibility by a "willing suspension of disbelief" in a realm that is motivated by a massive despair as a motivating

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force. This pattern differs fundamentally from the divine love pattern of Metaphysical poetry in this : divine love clothed in profane (earthly) imagery commands a central focus in Metaphysical poetry; human love clad in mortal-immortal terms assumes central role in Dickinson's poems. In treating the other-world as a mere extension of this-world, it is in consonance with the romantic tradition in poetry and philosophy. The principle of temporal plenitude informs this tradition. Imagination creates a world which possesses the characteristics of both worlds—a pagan version of the puritan heaven as the sensuous 'Eden' of the early poems. Love in the majority of the poems belonging to the period, is distinguished by its human identity though the earthly passion is enacted on the ethereal plane :

Joy to have merited the Pain—
To merit the Release—
Joy to have perished every step—
To Compass Paradise—

Pardon—to look upon thy face—
With these old fashioned Eyes—
Better than new—could be—for that—
Though bought in Paradise—

Because they looked on thee before—
And thou hast looked on them—
Prove Me—My Hazel Witnesses
The features are the same—

So fleet thou wert, when present—
So infinite—when gone—
An Orient's Apparition—
Remanded of the Morn—

The Height I recollect—
'Twas even with the Hills—
The Depth upon my Soul was notched—
As Floods—on Whites of Wheels—

To Haunt—till Time have dropped
His last Decade away,
And Haunting actualize—to last
At least—Eternity—

(J-788)

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The poem placed in 1863 differs from the poems of the previous period in respect of its suggestion of human drama of love—the luxury of looking at the lover's face in paradise. In another poem (J-765), the temporal lover presents an image of "Deity" because the speaker could deem "Eternity". "Idolatory" in the last line mischievously pricks the puritan sensibility.

"Paradise" is the imaginative vision of Dickinson contradistinguished from the "Paradise of light" (J-1145). It is a paradise of her conception :

Paradise is of the option.
Whosoever will
Own in Eden notwithstanding
Adam and Repeal.

(1069)

"Paradise" and "Eden" are synonymous here and elsewhere (J-215, 1069, 1657). Dickinson's imagination prefigures a paradise which is attainable on forbearance in an extremity of death-like pain—a paradise which unites the lovers separated on earth or by the strictures of moral or social law. "Hazel Witnessess" (J-788) are called upon to attest the earthly identity and the old face. Stanza iv contrasts the two identities—the finite and the infinite—and introduces a necropolitan image in "Apparition" that is "Remanded" in the last stanza to the world of time. The two worlds, the finite (of time) and the infinite (eternity), become reversible. "Haunting" as a mode of imaginative recollection, helps actualization of the eternal union in the world of time. The craving for mortal identity in a state of infinity (sts. ii-iii) creates a vision of mortal-immortal paradise and a dual consciousness of time and timelessness.

The lover is generally considered to be spectral or sacramental and love in these poems as corresponding to the traditional patterns of anticipation of union in heaven. In her impressionable years the poet herself subscribed to such a view :

I was thinking of you last night—I dropped asleep thinking of you. Lo, I *dreamed*, and the world was no more *this* world, but a world bright and fair . . . yet I know the place was heaven, and the people singing songs were those who in their *lifetimes* were parted and separated, and their joy was because they should never be so any more.²

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She was to discard it in her mature years—the future heaven for a heaven here and now :

I think Heaven will not be as good as earth, unless it bring
with it that sweet power to remember, which is the Staple of
Heaven—here.

(*Letters*, 11, 623, 651)

She describes the future heaven from the perspective of this world :

Their Height in Heaven comforts not—

(J-696)

The biographical myths about the lover in Dickinson's poems and her withdrawal from society in real life, tended to reinforce the reading of spiritual or devotional passion in these poems. Dickinson's nun-like renunciation of the world, her virginity and love affairs which could not be consummated in marriage are some of the circumstances which have been used to justify, consciously or unconsciously, the reading of divine love pattern. This pattern, as in the Metaphysicals, employs profane terms to express a spiritual passion. This is further reinforced by some technical affinities and stylistic parallels between Dickinson and the Metaphysical poets.

The whole question is deceptively easy and susceptible to oversimplifications and platitudes that may be convincingly presented on the basis of the equivocal nature of Dickinson's poetry. But any reading that is extraneous to the poems and seeks to justify itself through biographical facts, contradicts itself. A poem, paradoxically, is dependent-independent of the circumstances in real life which lead to its genesis. In spite of certain similitudes between Dickinson and the seventeenth-century Metaphysical poets in respect of brilliant wit, a blend of feeling and thought, an unconventional language, and a cracking of the prescribed metrical patterns, an in-depth study reveals fundamental differences. Behind the technique of expressing the divine love theme through the imagery of profane love or subtle abstractions through concrete imagery (which is a favourite technique of the Metaphysical poets), there is an imaginative preoccupation and thematic commitment to the medieval Christian theology. The medieval theology attempted to reconcile the otherworldly absolute God with His manifestation in the diabolocentric temporal existence. The otherworldly theme found its terms of expression in this-world. The 17th century poets attempted to transfuse

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the Catholic from their religious experience into poetry : the religious poems of Donne, for example, are intensely personal and Catholic. He invests theology with a poetic passion that is conspicuously absent in Dickinson. We do not come across in Dickinson's poetry the Christian temper which characterizes the religious poems of the Metaphysical poets. When Donne addresses Christ "SHOW me deare Christ, thy spouse, so bright and clear", or addresses God "Wilt thou forgive that sinn, where I begunn", the passionate note becomes unmistakable. The passionate note persists even in an impersonal reflection on death : "THOU hast made me, And shall thy worke decay ?" In contrast, Emily's attitude toward God remains impersonal and irreverent even if she were to describe some personal loss by death : "I never lost as much but twice" (J-49); "I asked no other thing" (J-621, see also poems 267, 1461, 1719, 1256, 1462). Dickinson employs sacramental imagery not to convey religious fervor or divine love as a spiritual passion but the impulse of human love. "The fire of religion," as Wells puts it, "she acquired in the superlative degree, but the fire would not burn to the glory of an orthodox God whom she knew only to fear or the glory of a Saviour from whom she could feel little love."³ It is the debt of linguistic inspiration that she owes to her provincial religion. Her education lent her "the zeal of a saint but without the religion, the soul of a nun without the true faith" (Ibid). Her provincial religion "set her heart to school and guided the imagery of her fiery verses" (Ibid).

Her affinity with the Metaphysical poets may be confined to technical problems. Whether the Metaphysical poets wrote on love or religion, their problem was to render a metaphysical experience in concrete terms. For Dickinson it was a similar problem, i.e., to present inner reality of feeling and sensation in concrete terms. The affinity further extends to the use of an unconventional idiom and witty language informed with paradox. But Dickinson employs paradox not so much as a technique (which the Metaphysical poets do) but as a state of mind and a mode of conceiving experience. This type of use of paradox is to be found chiefly in the younger English Romantic poets who used their work "as a serious means of discovering or evolving a faith sufficient to replace creeds that have become manifestly outworn".⁴ Dickinson also employs paradox to seek a catharsis of the tension of polar opposites in her experience, e.g., "Much Madness is divinest Sense—" (J-435); "The first Day's Night had come" (J-410); "'Tis Opposites entice—" (J-355). The experience of love (say in Donne's famous poem "The Extasie") rising from a silent

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devotion to a craving for consummation culminates not in a paradox, as it would have done in a Dickinson poem, but in a Platonic climax :

Wee see by this, it was not sexe, . . .
Love, these mixt soules, doth mixe again,
And makes both one, each this and that.

(Lines 31, 35, 36)

The essentially human identity of love in Dickinson's poems coincides with the romantic tradition in poetry. A disembodied human love on the supersensuous level characterizes the romantic tradition found, for example, in Keat's chief poems from *Endymion* onwards. The human love in them is hyperidealized into a supersensual realm and the temporal passion is refined and etherealized into a disembodied form. The hyperidealized passion does not change the human identity of love but, on the contrary, delineates it distinctly by accentuating its idiosyncrasies :

Somewhere upon the general Earth
Itself exist Today—
The Magic passive but extant
That consecrated me—

Indifferent Seasons doubtless play
Where I for right to be—
Would pay each Atom that I am
But Immortality—

Reserving that but just to prove
A nother Date of Thee—
Oh God of Width, do not for us
Curtail Eternity !

(J-1231)

The poem deals with the possibility of a knowledge of immortality which would enable the lovers to meet in the post-mortal life. God has been differentiated from the lover as a "God of width" whose hostile omnipotence extends beyond the mortal life which he sways in an overpowerful "cat-mouse" relationship (J-61). The experience of immortality of earth, which for Dickinson substitutes orthodox conversion to the Covenant of Grace,⁵ is a "Magic passive" and "extant". The experience of immortality of love on earth is akin to ceremonial consecration, but its price on earth is the corporeal life. Its disintegration would pave the

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ground for the evidence of "Another Date" with the lover in post-mortal life. The eternal union of love in the post-mortal life might stir the jealousy of God and tempt him to curtail eternity and recycle mortal temporal separation.

The romantic tradition in literature and philosophy shifts the emphasis from the supernatural scheme of eternal Ideas or archetypal essences to the geocentric manifestation in Becoming through the dialectic of emanationism in which plenitude temporalized God or the world of eternal Ideas. Its imaginative mythical-poetical representation in poetry invests the prototypal Ideas or supertemporal reality with human identity. In its central emphasis on the concrete, changing, and contingent existence, the romantic tradition may be said to anticipate existentialism in its intrinsic aspects :

For the romantic problem of freedom led directly into the more searching and private problem of authenticity....this existential problem inevitably arose from the romantic liberal dilemmas.....The romantic quest for freedom changed into the existential quest for an authentic self capable of being identified and sustained amid the average....The existential dilemmas were inherent in romanticism, for sooner or later Prometheus had to come face to face with the philistines....⁶

Emily Dickinson sets out with the experience of desolation and meaninglessness in a hostile cosmos in which Death's ravages are absolutely and irresistibly universal and insurmountable; the sustained romanticism of the following lines

Where palsy shakes a few, sad, last gray hairs,
Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies;
Where but to think is to be full of sorrow
And leaden-eyed despairs,
Where Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes,
Or new love pine at them beyond to-morrow

paints the cosmic determinism of death as an existential problem which Dickinson describes in several of her poems on the theme of death. A sustained irony informs Dickinson's lines :

The Perished Patterns murmur
But His Perturbless Plan
Proceed—inserting Here—a Sun—
There-leaving out a Man—

(J-724, st. iii)

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On the level of personal sensibility, Dickinson faced from her puritan-Calvinist heritage the threat of damnation, and on the level of poetic sensibility, the threat of oblivion and want of recognition. To the conspiracy of these two hostile forces, Dickinson responded initially with an existential despair. Then, for psychic fortification against them she withdrew physically from the outside world. Though Dickinson tapped the rich store of puritan iconography and language, her renunciation was essentially and finally, in terms of existentialism, a Kierkegaardian experience of subjectivity which she shares with the English romantic poets, and not a devotional passion of the Metaphysical poets or her puritan forbears like Jonathan Edwards and Cotton Mather. Her act of withdrawal had predominantly an imaginative and artistic implication rather than religious. She found the source of man's alienation in the materialism of a society which found solace or refuge from the crudity of its materialism in the lore of the puritan church which dominated it. Therefore while Dickinson retained the trope of Bride-of-Christ and the accompanying image of "white" from the puritan heritage, her imaginative focus was centred on the search for the ego-centre. Frye hints at this approach when he states :

We shall find Emily Dickinson most rewarding if we look in her poems for what her imagination has created, not for what events may have suggested.... she constructed her drama of life, death and immortality, of love and renunciation, ecstasy and suffering, out of tiny incidents in her life.⁷

Though unaware of the ethical dilemmas of existentialism, still Dickinson shares with existentialists the question of man's destiny, his contingent existence as an interlude between eternity and death, in a world of possibility.

Dickinson's vision of love, then, is symbolic of both the worlds—the world of Platonic Ideas and the world of neo-Platonic emanations from its plenitude, the world of supersensuous love (Eros) and the world of human love. The identity of love in both the worlds remains human in its centrality and focus :

Because that you are going
And never coming back
And I, however absolute,
May overlook your Track—

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Because that Death is final,
However first it be,
This instant be suspended
Above Mortality—

Significance that each has lived
The other to detect
Discovery not God himself
Could now annihilate

Eternity, Presumption
The instant I perceive
That you, who were Existence
Yourself forgot to live—

The "Life that is" will then have been
A thing I never knew—
As Paradise fictitious
Until the Realm of you—

The "Life that is to be," to me,
A Residence too plain
Unless in my Redeemer's Face
I recognize your own—

Of Immortality who doubts
He may exchange with me
Curtailed by your obscuring Face
Of everything but He—

Of Heaven and Hell I also yield
The Right to reprehend
To whoso would commute this Face
For his less priceless Friend.

If "God is Love" as he admits
We think that he must be
Because he is a "jealous God"
He tells us certainly

If "All is possible with" him
As he besides concedes
He will refund us finally
Our confiscated Gods—

(J-1260)

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In the first two stanzas, separation from the lover provides a perspective for the mortal and the post-mortal worlds. The possibility of endless separation equates it with death. The visualization of the moment of death enables the speaker to attain an intuition of the post-mortal scene beyond the annihilation of death. The moment of death is a moment of "Compound Vision", an intuitional fusion of time and eternity (J-906) presenting an oxymoronic realm which embraces both the worlds, with human identity at its psychological centre. The mutually idolatrous absorption of the lovers "to detect" each other, is an instant of imperishable discovery. In the following two stanzas, present life is viewed with the future post-mortal life in the perspective of a presumptive eternity, that is, in the absence of the lover the present life is "fictitious" like the "Paradise" viewed in spatial terms. Abraham remarks : "Romantic Writers dealt with the nonhuman only insofar [sic] it is the occasion for the activity which defines man : thought, process of intellection."⁸

The yearning for the face of the lover is a recurrent theme in several of Dickinson's poems. The conspicuous identity of the human lover in the above poem (sts. iv-viii) is centred in the longing for the face of the lover. The consciousness of the beloved in Dickinson's poems is mostly focussed in the face of the lover :

The Luxury to apprehend
The Luxury 'twould be
To look at Thee a single time
An Epicure of Me

The luxury to meditate
The Luxury it was
To banquet on thy Countenance
A Sumptuousness bestows

(J—815, sts. i, iii)

Chase points out Dickinsons' inability to exploit fully the metaphorical structure,⁹ but since she voices in this poem her sensuous luxury in perception of the face of the lover, the sacramental trope of the consecrated Bread at the Supper of the Lord has a limited metaphorical scope.

Emily Dickinson describes the human drama in the hearts of her lyrics. The theme of human love described in a sensuous imagery cannot be

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mistaken for divine love. The human drama of love of which the terms of reference are drawn from both the temporal and the non-temporal worlds, is the centre of her imaginative vision :

Fitter to see Him, I may be
For the long Hindrance—Grace—to Me—
With Summers, and with Winters, grow,
Some passing Year—A trait bestow

To make Me fairest of the Earth—
The Waiting—then—will seem so worth
I shall impute with half a pain
The blame— that I was chosen—then—

Time to anticipate His Gaze—
It's first—Delight—and then—Surprise—
The turning o'er and o'er my face
For Evidence it be the Grace—

He left behind one Day—So less
He seek Conviction, That—be This—
I only must not grow so new
That He'll mistake—and ask for me
Of me—when first unto the Door
I go—to Elsewhere go no more—

I only must not change so fair
He'll sigh—"The Other—She—is Where ?"
The Love, tho', will array me right
I shall be perfect—in His sight—

If He perceive the other Truth—
Upon an Excellenter Youth—

How sweet I shall not lack in Vain—
But—again—thro' loss—Through Grief—obtain—
The Beauty that reward Him best—
The Beauty of Demand—at Rest—

(J—968)

The sensations of agony and ecstasy that inform the poems of 1861-63 are now transformed into an imaginative vision. The intensity of sensation in the poems of that period is diffused here in a dream-like

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atmosphere which characterizes a vision. The recurrence of verbs of visual perception in "see", "Gaze," "sight," and "perceive," reinforce the imaginative vision. The long Meter which she used sparingly elsewhere for its monotony tends to accentuate the dream-like atmosphere in the poem. The narrator meets the lover in the post-mortal supersensuous realm. The passage of "Summers" and "Winters" in the third line of stanza i echoes the slow tramp of years, which acts as "Hindrance" between the separated lovers. The long separation by absence or death shifts the scene of anticipatory meeting of the lovers to a visionary realm which retains, nonetheless, the temporal and, at times, spatial qualities. The core of anticipation is the dramatic moment of appearance before the lover. The full theological force of "Grace" and "chosen" is thrown to bear upon the face of the beloved. The dramatic moment of tension in the act of anticipation is spread over the rest of the four stanzas. The expression of delight, surprise, and doubt on the part of the lover occupies stanzas iii-iv. Stanzas v-vi give the speaker's reaction to the lover's trepidation over a perceptible change in beauty—this shocks the anticipation of the speaker to appear "Fitter to see Him." This marks the climax of the supersensuous drama in that realm, which begins from stanza iii. Love goes to the rescue in that climactic moment. The last stanza reassures the gains of separation through loss and grief.

The thrust of the sacramental imagery in the poems of the period, then, is directed to accentuate human identity of love in the heaven's bourne. Her mature appreciation significantly dates from 1865 after her return from Cambridge in late November, 1864, and Dickinson especially mentions *Antony and Cleopatra* as her favourite.¹⁰ This reflects on the trend of her poems of love after 1863. *Antony and Cleopatra* establishes the anticipatory pattern of supersensuous realm and imaginative vision for lovers' union. When Mardian falsely reports the death of Cleopatra in Act IV, scene xiv, Antony in his hour of defeat and disgrace elevates himself imaginatively to Elysium to rejoin his queen:

I come, my queen . . . stay for me,
Where souls do couch on flowers, and we will hand in hand
And with our sprightly port make the ghosts gaze :
And all the haunt be ours.

(Act IV, sc. xiv, lines 50-54)

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After Eros kills himself, Antony imagines death as a ritual of marriage:

But I will be
A bridegroom in my death, and run into't
As to a lover's bed.

(Act IV, sc. xiv, lines 99-101)

Cleopatra too, on the death of Antony imagines herself lying luxuriously on her death-bed, and the incident she cites to describe this post-mortal union with Antony is that of their glorious meeting on the bank of Cydnus (described by Enobarbus in Act II, sc. ii lines 191-205, 206-18). Cleopatra thinks of the union after death in terms of the earthly union:

Show me, my women, like a queen to fetch
My best attires. I am again for Cydnus,
To meet Mark Antony.

(Act V, sc. ii, lines 226-28)

When her robe, her crown, and her jewels are brought, she feels out of imaginative excitement as if Antony were calling her. She answers in that trance :

Husband, I come;
Now to that name, my courage prove my title !
I am fire, and air; my other elements
I give to baser life.

(Act V, sc. ii, lines 286-89)

But when Iras dies of grief for Cleopatra before the queen, Cleopatra ruminates with a pang of jealousy:

If she first meet the curled Antony,
He'll make demand of her, and spend that kiss
Which is my heaven to have,

(Act V, sc. ii, lines 300-02)

The post-mortal life describing the union of loves in Elysium employs terrestrial terms and retains the little idiosyncrasies of human nature; jealousies, particulars of craving for each other's appearance, look, dress, etc.

Dickinson does not emulate the profane love tradition of the earlier seventeenth century poets; the amorous imagery (and sacramental imagery as well) aspire to describe human love on a supersensuous plane—an

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emulation of Shakespeare and the Romantics. Dickinson awards the imaginative vision of love a dimension of drama in the heart of her lyrics. The "heaven" in these poems is not that other "Heaven where they neither woo nor given wooing—what an imperfect place!" (*Letters* 111, 750, 728) :

Extol thee—could I! Then I will (J-1643)

The earthly love is extolled to a vision of immortality, but the elements of that vision are fused in earthly consciousness that lends it a kind of intuitional immediacy. The tendency of anthropomorphism changes in Dickinson even the atmosphere of the grave with existential movement as if it were a small cosmos with its own temporal cycle:

The grave my little cottage is, (J-1743)

The human idiosyncrasy and instinct of housekeeping asserts itself in that cosmos; and the insensate grave stone mirrors the face of the lover "No mirror could illumine thee/Like that impassive stone—" (J 1666).

While death of close friends and relatives caused Emily Dickinson grievous shock and shattered her physical sensibility (of which the poems are authentic documentations), her poetic sensibility could see beyond the desolation of death and sorrow a halcyon vision of the immortality of soul. Like Keats Dickinson believed:

For Poesy alone can tell her dreams,—
With the fine spell of words alone can save
Imagination from the sable chain
And dumb enchantment . . .

(*The Fall of Hyperion*, lines 8-11)

Emily once jotted down : "Consummation is the hurry of fools (exhilaration of fools), but Expectation the Elixir of the Gods—" (Prose Fragment 6, *J-Letters* 111, 922). Dickinson's real life was a ceaselessly tantalizing situation in which the gap between expectation and consummation yawned endlessly. Her poetry adopts paradox to express the tension of polar opposites in human experience.

Like Apollo who takes on the identity of the mortal poet, Dickinson's poems present an experience of love that embraces both the worlds—the mortal and the supra-mortal. A long and profoundly detached acceptance of death alone could have lent imagination the kind of intimate poetic vision found in her poems, that makes the supersensuous a very credible experience :

. . . 'Thou hast felt
'What 'tis to die and live again before

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'Thy fated hour, that thou hadst power to do so
'Is thy own safety . . .

(*The Fall of Hyperion*, LI 14, 44)

A Dickinson poem offers a parallel of meaning similar to Moneta's in Hyperion :

'Tis not the swaying frame we miss,
It is the steadfast Heart,
That had it beat a thousand years,
With love alone had bent,
Its fervor the electric Oar,
That bore it through the Tomb,
Ourselves denied the privilege,
Consolately presume—

While her physical sensibility might have been shattered on personal losses through death, Dickinson's poetic sensibility could see beyond the desolation of death a halcyon vision of the immortality of soul. Her imagination lends it an immediacy of experience here and now. Death remains no longer a frightening experience:

The Dying is a trifle, past,
But living, this include
The dying multifold—without
The Respite to be dead.

(J-1013, st. ii)

Dickinson, it seems, could successfully focus the other world into this-world partly by virtue of her visionary powers and partly by coming closest to the centre of existence and relying on the self : "On a Columner Self—/ How ample to rely," (J-789). Theodora Ward makes a very perceptive observation :

Of immortality as a future state she was never sure, and human love was too vulnerable to loss to be relied on as a force with which to encounter death. Ecstasy, the gift of the gods, was the living flame at the centre of the poet's own being. After all else was taken she found the spark burning. It was as a poet that she must take leave of life, sure of nothing except the unnamed meaning at the core of life itself.¹¹

Thus Dickinson's affinity with the Metaphysical poets may be confined

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to certain technical problems, they are quite wide apart in respect of inspiration and the thematic thrust of their poetry. Whether the metaphysical poets wrote on love or religion, the metaphysician design and the christian temper are palpably intrusive, and their problem.

... was always that of rendering a metaphysical experience in concrete terms. For Emily Dickinson it was the other way round: she wanted to interiorize, to 'instress' reality of feeling and sensation. She wanted as she herself might have said, to find a meaning. ... Poetry for her is neither a game nor conscious escapism : it was reality itself, interiorized, conceptualized, but still reality. Indeed the only reality that had any meaning.

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SECTION II

History

- S. P. Sangar .. Food and Drinks in Mughal India.
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SECTION II

History

Food and the History of the World
The History of the World in the Food
of the World

FOOD AND DRINKS IN MUGHAL INDIA

S. P. Sangar*

In Mughal India identical food habits did not prevail among the various castes, communities and provinces. The Portuguese traveller, Sebastian Manrique, who visited India during Shahjahan's reign, found the Bengalis both vegetarians and non-vegetarians. They, however, refrained from taking the flesh of cow or ox or tame pig. Some meat-eaters avoided taking eggs or chicken. The vegetarians among them did not eat vegetables of red colour.¹

A much earlier traveller, Ralph Fitch (1583-91), an Englishman, is of the view that the majority of the Gujaratis and Bengalis were vegetarians.²

De Laet, a Dutch, who based his account on Palsaert's, has remarked that in Gujarat, members of the same family had different food habits. They were both vegetarians and non-vegetarians, although the latter did not slaughter the animals themselves. There were individuals who took the flesh only of certain particular animals. Some relished only fish.³

Bernier, who was at Aurangzeb's court during the first twelve years of that monarch's reign, records that in Kashmir hardly ten per cent of the troops took non-vegetarian food.⁴

Ovington, the English traveller, who came to India in 1689, found the Hindus of Surat both vegetarians and non-vegetarians. The latter among them had preference for different kinds of animals, although none took beef.⁵

In the South, the Hindus were generally vegetarians.⁶

Herbert, who visited India in the first part of the 17th century, found the Brahmins strictly vegetarians.⁷ The same was true of the Malabar Brahmins who ate neither flesh nor fish nor any other living creature.⁸ Dellon, Manucci and William Hedges recorded events in the

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second half of the 17th century. Dellon, the French Physician, who was in South India from 1669 to 1676, found the Brahmin priests eating nothing that had life. They lived upon milk and fruits and cereals.⁹ Manucci has recorded that among the Hindus, Brahmins, ascetics and monks and persons devoted to learning, refrained from non-vegetarian meals.¹⁰ According to William Hedges, all the Brahmins did not avoid the use of animal flesh. There were both vegetarian and non-vegetarian Brahmins. Those belonging to the former category were 'very severe' in their diet and habits and ate 'nothing that had life in it.'¹¹

The Khattris usually avoided animal food and preferred a diet of rice, wheat and butter. There were, however, persons among them who were less strict in their food habits and took mutton.¹² The Rajputs in general were fond of fish and flesh of goat and chicken.¹³ They relished even hog's flesh.¹⁴ They, however, regarded it as an 'unpardonable offence' to kill a cow or eat beef or veal.¹⁵

The Hindus belonging to the merchant class, termed by the foreign travellers as Banians, ate no flesh of any kind.¹⁶ They had the same food habits as the Brahmins.¹⁷ This evidence of Robert Coverte (1610) and of V. Dellon (1669-76) has been corroborated by other travellers. According to the Dutch Linschoten (1583-89), the Banians (Jains) of Cambay took neither flesh nor eggs. They even avoided radishes, onions and garlic.¹⁸ Nicholas Withington (1612-16) remarked that the Banias of Sind did not kill any living creature nor did they take animal flesh.¹⁹ Another English traveller, Sir Thomas Herbert, who wrote his account of India during the closing years of Jahangir's reign, remarks : 'They (Banias) are indeed merciful, grieving to see other people as hard-hearted as to feed upon Fish, Flesh, Raddish, Onions, Garlick, and such things as either have life or resemblance of blood. They for their parts will not kill so much as a Louse, a Flea, a Kokoroch or the like.'²⁰

Some unscrupulous persons, however, could exploit this sentiment of the Banias and play upon their feelings and extort from them money. The Italian traveller Careri (1695) noticed a 'rogue' doing this in Surat. He held a hen in one and a knife in another hand, and threatened to kill the former unless the Hindu shopkeepers parted with some money.²¹

The Dutch factor, Francis Palsaert, who lived in Agra for seven years towards the end of Jahangir's reign, found the artisans mostly vegetarians subsisting only on Khichri.²² The German aristocrat traveller, Count

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Mandelslo, confirms this statement.²³ According to another observer of the second part of the 17th century, the Hindu artisans were both vegetarians and non-vegetarians. Some of these 'Mechanicks' 'will and some of them will not eat flesh of Fish, but none of them will eat the Flesh of Cows, and Oxen, or Calves.'²⁴

Besides the main classes, there were infinite number of other castes among the Hindus who did not observe the same austerity of life as the Brahmins and the Banias. Some of them relished fish, others ate all sorts of meat except beef.²⁵

The slaves and the tillers were regarded by some as the lowest classes in society who eked out a precarious existence. These people made no distinction of 'Meats and Drinks', though they had full reverence for the cow and therefore never 'touched beef'.²⁶

Glanius, however, observed that the poorest people among them, 'the slaves who work almost day and night', 'eat nothing endued with life', 'no Fish or Flesh'. Their 'superstition is such that however great their hunger may be, they choose rather to dye, than to eat either Fish or Flesh'. Their food usually consisted of rice.²⁷

According to Linschoten, the Deccanis ate all sorts of things except kine, flesh of hogs and buffaloes and fish. They regarded cow as holy.²⁸ The Canarese who lived on tilling and fishing, ate all kinds of things except kine, oxen, buffaloes, hogs and chicken.²⁹ The staple food of the people of Malabar was rice and they also took flesh, fish, fruits, milk and eggs.³⁰ There were a number of Abyssinians and Arabs serving in merchant ships that sailed from Goa to China, Japan, Mallaca, Ormus and other places in the Orient. They dressed their own food which was cooked in water with salt fish.³¹

The foreign travellers who visited India during the Mughal period were amazed to view the super-abundance and cheapness of commodities in the bazars and markets in the various cities of the country.

The English Robert Coverte who came here in 1610, found the soil of the country fertile for wheat and barley, although rice was 'most cultivated and eaten quite through India'.³² On his way from Surat to

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Agra he went through many towns where he came across markets or bazars full of rice, wheat, beans, peas, 'motte', besides so many other commodities. He saw such markets in 'Natherberry',³³ 'Basma',³⁴ 'Mertha'³⁵ and Ajmer.³⁶ He writes that in Agra there were four bazars or markets 'every day in the week' where there was a 'great store of all things to be bought and sold' 'at a very reasonable rate' including birds and animals whose flesh was used for eating.³⁷ He found there great store of game such as pheasants, partridges, 'plovcs', quails, 'mallard', 'and of all other sorts of fowl in great plenty.'³⁸

William Bruton travelled in Bengal in 1632 and found there abundance of rice, wheat and sugar, butter and oil, fish, flesh and fowl, vegetables and fruits.³⁹

The Portugese Sebastian Manrique, a friar of the order of St. Augustine, toured Bengal from 1629 to 1637. He came across abundant crops of wheat and rice. His eyes met with numerous vegetables and varieties of oils. The rice, particularly the scented variety of *jirsal* or *jhili sayali* appeared to him far superior to that produced in Europe. He was surprised to see that this profusion of foodstuffs was obtainable at very low prices.⁴⁰

While going through Orissa in 1640, he and his party were plentifully supplied with rice, ghee and food made with milk, at very cheap price. In many cities of this province they found abundance of rice, vegetables, sugar, ghee and many kinds⁴¹ of oil.

In 1643, he happened to be in the city of Lahore when Emperor Shahjahan was camping there. He was amazed to see the super-abundance of eatables in the improvised shops set up in the temporary tents put up there in honour of the royal visit to the city. These shops were full of the roast flesh of various domestic and wild animals and large spits of winged creatures such as fowls, capons, chickens, young pigeons, quails and doves. There were other varieties of meat being sold in household utensils of brass metals kept in these stalls. Among these the principal dish was rice cooked in various ways and also Persian pulao. He also saw there a number of dishes to suit the palate of vegetarians, like simple boiled rice and different kinds of vegetables and also three varieties of bread. What struck him most was the low prices for which these eatables could be purchased.⁴²

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Captain Alexander Hamilton was in India and the East Indies for a considerably long period (1688-1723). He found in India 'Plenty of Wheat, as good as any in Europe, and some Peas, and French Beans They have several Species of Lagumen; but those of Doll are most in use They have also store of Wild Fowl.'⁴³ Writing about Surat, he says, 'They have excellent Beef, Mutton and Fowl daily exposed to Sale in the city, reasonably cheap'.⁴⁴ In Orissa he found plenty of game, fish and fowl.⁴⁵

India in the 17th century was not only known for the abundance and cheapness of these commodities, but also for their great surplus and resultant export to various countries of Asia, Africa and Europe. We get a fairly good account of the export of these foodstuffs like wheat, rice, sugar, butter, ginger, nutmegs, different varieties of pickles and conserves in the records of the East India Company. In May 1617, an English employee of the East India Company stationed at Isphahan in Persia wrote to the Surat factors: 'I have been required by the king's treasurer and minion (favourite) Lalbegg, to write into India, for these underwritten toys and necessities of the king's use, which we desire you fail not to send . . .' Among the commodities required were 400 mounds of green ginger, conserved with sugar; 100 mounds of *zirsayali* or *jilsayali* rice 'for the king's own diet; preserved 'corumboll', myrobalans, tamarind, and mangoes; green pepper preserved in vinegar; nutmegs in confection, green coconuts 'halila', pine-apples etc.⁴⁶

Manrique has mentioned about a banquet given by Asaf Khan to Shahjahan in 1641, in the city of Lahore, in the Ghusikhana. The hall was adorned with carpets 'which covered the floor so as to form tables on the ground, as is the national custom, and also served in place of chairs and couches'. They 'reject raised tables as unnecessary'. In the four corners of the room were raised stands bearing the vessel full of drinking water. In the centre of this a 'dasterchane was laid', that is, a table-cloth . . . made of the finest and whitest muslin' on which flowers of gold and silver were interwoven. The Emperor was sitting between two cushions of the cloth of gold. Behind him were sitting Prince Dara, Asaf Khan and other members of the family. Four 'lovely girls' came forward with implements for the ablution of hands of the royal guest. One of them spread before him a white satin cloth, others placed upon it a golden vessel; another came forward with a ewer of water for the Emperor to wash his hands. After which he received a towel from another

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lady to dry his hands on. Twelve other girls brought ewers and vessels for other guests for this very purpose. Then the dinner was brought in rich golden dishes by eunuchs. 'I was astonished and surprised to see so much polite usage and good order in practice among such Barbarians, while I was not less astonished at the abundance and diversity of the dishes and eatables, among which some were in European style, especially certain pastries, cakes and other sweet confections made by some slaves who had been with the Portugese at Ugulim'.⁴⁷

Mandelslo came to Surat in 1638. He twice dined with the Governor of Gujarat, a native of Persia. "He caused some Fruit to be brought, while the people were laying the cloth, which was of cotton, laid upon a large Carpet of Turkic-leather. The dinner was very noble, and serv'd up and drest according to the Persian way, the Meat being laid in dishes, all Porcelane, upon Rice of several colours, in the same manner as we had seen at the Court of Ispahan."⁴⁸ Writing about the second occasion he says, "The Carver sate in the middle of the great Vessels wherein the meat was brought up, and with a great spoon put of it into little dishes, to be serv'd upto us. The chan himself would needs also put in some, to assure us of his being pleas'd with our company."⁴⁹

While travelling in Bengal in 1640-41, Sebastian Manrique happened to pay a visit to the old fort of Gaur, where he was invited to dinner by the Mughal official in-charge of the fort. He refers to "numerous dishes of various kinds of flesh, both of domesticated and wild animals and birds, with stimulants of sundry achars, made of cucumber, radish, limes, and green chillies, soaked in strong fragrant vinegars, that served to spur the appetite". This was followed by different kinds of sweets and Indian, Kashmir and Persian fruits. "After a weary three hours we arose from table." The Mughal official was very courteous to Manrique whom he welcomed saying, 'Mian ji, baitho'.⁵⁰

The *Kotwāl* of Burhānpur once sent twenty dishes of meat cooked in Indian fashion, and in 'covered platters', to Sir Thomas Roe.⁵¹

Glanus (who visited India in 1651) and his companions were brought to the palace of the Mughal Prince in Bengal and they were entertained to meals there. They were served with Brinji, prepared of choice 'Rice, a fat Goose, and two Pullets, squeezed together in cloth, after about two or three hours boiling'. To its juice were added several sorts of spices,

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like nutmegs, cloves, saffron, cinnamon and sugar. This was regarded as a very nourishing food.⁵²

In 1652, Shaista Khan sent Tavernier every day from his table four silver dishes containing *pulāo* and choice meats. Once he sent the Italian traveller two dishes of apples which he had received from the King, who, in his turn, had got it from Persia.⁵³

When Shaista Khan was the Governor of Bengal later on, he sent an Englishman about ten dishes of meat from his own table. This was regarded as an 'extra-ordinary favour'. 'Dishes and Covers were Silver and very large'.⁵⁴

Vegetarian Meals

Among the vegetarian dishes cooked in the royal kitchen of Akbar, Abul Fazl has mentioned the following :—

1. *Zardbiranj*. It was made of rice, sugar-candy and *ghee*. It could be prepared with or without almonds, pistachio, *Kishmish*, saffron, ginger, cinnamon and cardamoms.

2. *Khushke*. It was a dish of simple rice without *ghee* and any other ingredient, though it was saltish.

3. *Sheerbrinj* was prepared from wheat ground and *ghee* and spices and salt.

4. *Chikhee* was made of paste of wheat ground and one-tenth of *ghee* along with spices and salt.

5. *Bādanjān*. Coconut, *ghee*, onions and spices went into the preparation of this dish.

6. *Pahet* was prepared from skinned pulses like *mung*, *māsh* and lentils, *ghee* and spices.

7. *Sāg* was a very natural dish made of spinach, fennel, *ghee* and spices.

8. *Halwa* was pudding prepared from wheat flour, sugar-candy and *ghee*.

9. *Khichri* was also a regular dish in Akbar's kitchen. It was made as today from split *mung*, rice and *ghee*.⁵⁵

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Khichri was a common dish with the people in India. It was made of 'green pulse' mixed with rice, cooked with water over a little fire until the moisture was evaporated and eaten hot with butter.⁵⁶ In Bengal *Khichri* was relished by common people. It was made of two parts of rice and one of lentils or *mung dal*. It was regarded very digestible and useful for the sick people. To give it 'body', they added *ghee*.⁵⁷ It was flavoured with a little spice, chopped onions and the like.⁵⁸ On festive occasions, the Bengalis ate Gujrati *khichri* containing almonds, raisins, cloves, nutmegs, mace, cardamoms and cinnamons and pepper. Prepared in this manner, it became a rich and costly dish.⁵⁹ Hamilton found this common food of the Indians pleasant and nourishing and 'that which the famous Aurangzeb most delighted to eat'. It could be eaten with *achar* or salt fish.⁶⁰ Ovington thought *khichri* to be very 'strengthening'. European sailors used to take it once or twice in the week and termed those days as 'Banian Days'.⁶¹

Deep-fried things like *puris*, *kachoris*, *luchais*, besides rice, pulses, vegetables, sweets and fruits formed the menu in rich people's houses. During banquets and feasts, a large variety of sweets, fresh and dry fruits, was served. The contemporary Hindi poets like Sur Das, Jayasi, Chaturbhuj Das and Kumbhan Das have furnished us with the detailed items served on such occasions. *Papars*, *vadis*, pickles and preserves were essential parts of the meals of the people in general.⁶² Ghee was used in abundance in cooking and frying and so also oil in certain cases.

The people in general had two chief meals at noon and night, and two breakfasts, one in the forenoon and another in the afternoon. Some people preferred to take their evening meals before the sunset.⁶³ Coverté observed the Hindus of Surat eating twice a day.⁶⁴ In hot weather they would like to change their meals times to 8 or 9 in the morning and to 4 or 5 in the evening. Then they took something late in the night as well.⁶⁵

The morning breakfast was termed as *kalewa* or *kaleyu*.⁶⁶ or *mangalbhoj*.⁶⁷ It consisted of a variety of fruits and sweets, besides bread and butter, milk or curd.⁶⁸ They had a preference at breakfast time for the bread made of mixed wheat and gram flour.⁶⁹

The affluent people enjoyed a rich luncheon consisting of a large variety of eatables spread over a different number of items. Sur Das has made a detailed mention of the vegetables cooked and fruits taken at this principal meal of the Indians during his days.⁷⁰

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The evening breakfast was known as *chhāk*⁷¹ and included, among other items, fried things, fruits, honey and curd⁷². *Chhāk* was served in the *donas* or plates made of the leaves of *pfāsa* trees⁷³.

Dinner was known by the name of *biyāri*⁷⁴ *byaru*⁷⁵ or *biyary*.⁷⁶ Those who could afford, had rich dinner comprising many vegetables, fruits and sweets.⁷⁷

The staple food of the people in Mughal India consisted of wheat and rice, *kabuli* and black gram, millet and barley. Linseed, fenugreek, mustard seed were also used. None of them with the exception of rice cost more than 6 to 12 *dams* per maund. *Kabuli* gram cost 16 *dams* a maund.⁷⁸ The Muslims 'fed ordinarily upon this, we mean rice but no flesh therewith', says a letter written in the beginning of the 17th century.⁷⁹

Rice was available in India in abundance. The *Āin* has mentioned the following kinds of rice found in India in the end of the 16th century:

Shali mushkin (unhusked); *sukhdas*; *donahprasad*; *samzirah*; *shakar-chīni* (sugar candy); *de' ar*; *zarhi*; *sathe*.

Malik Mohammad Jayasi who wrote his *Padmavat* in 1540, has referred to the varieties of rice found in India at that time. They were :

Raybhog; *Rani kajar*; *jhinwa*; *rudwa*; *daud khani*; *kapūr kant*; *lenjuri*; *ritusari*; *madhukar*; *dhela*; *jhinasari*; *ghrit kandaun*; *kunwar vilas*; *rambas*; *sanguni*; *begari*; *padhini*; *garhhan*; *badhan*; *jadhan*; *sansar tilak*; *khand bila*; *rajhans*; *hansa bhaunwari*; *rūp manjari*; *ketki* and *bigauri*, *basmati*, *kajri*, *ratnari*, *longchur*, *lachi*, *sonkharika*. The rice mentioned in these varieties used to be straight, long and thin.⁸¹

Tame and *durra* were two other sorts of rice in Jahangir's time.⁸²

Writing about the reign of Shahjahan, Sebastian Manrique, found the Indian rice far superior to the one available in Europe, particularly the scented variety known as '*jirsal*' (from *zira*, the cumin-seed). It had an extraordinary fineness and delicacy of flavour and retained its fragrance after it had been cooked.⁸³ A special variety of rice known as '*gilsyali*', which the Editor of the book, *Letters Received*, Vol V, has translated as '*Jhili-siyali*', i.e. the rice grown in a swamp, was procured by the

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English from India and sent to Persia as a present to the king there.⁸⁴ Probably it was the same variety as referred to by Manrique. The English merchants sent even the ordinary varieties of rice from India to England.

Kodon was a kind of wild rice and *sawan* was the unhusked rice eaten by the poor people.⁸⁵

Unlike Jāyasi, Tulsi Das, a contemporary of Akbar, has not made a detailed mention of the kinds of rice served at marriage feasts. He is content to make a general remark that a variety of rice was served to the guests.⁸⁶

A very early example of the use of the word paddy is found in a letter written by an English factor Thomas Mills who pitched his tent on 5th Nov., 1623, near Masulipatam in a 'faire green, invironed with much paddy, and other graine'.⁸⁷

The price of the best quality of rice ranged between 80 to 110 *dams* per maund (of 32 pounds) during Akbar's time and ordinary rice like *dekar* and *zarhi* was available at about 50 *dams* per maund.⁸⁸ In Surat the price of rice in 1609 was one quintal per rial (one rial being equal to 4s. 6d. and one rupee equal to 2s. 3d.) and in 1632, 100 pounds one rial.⁸⁹ In 1659, rice cost in Qasimbazar 30 seers per rupee and in Hugli one rupee a maund.⁹⁰

For making *chapatis*, flour of wheat, gram and barley was used. *Maida* (fine flour) and gram flour cost 22 *dams* per maund in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign.⁹¹

Among the vegetables given in the *Ain* are : Radishes; carrots; cabbage; fennel; kachnar (*banbinia variegata*) flowers, sorrel, mint, wild carrot, red spinach, palwal (*trichothan thanses dioica* plant), gourd, bean, pytch, *karela* (bitter gourd), *kakora*, *kachalu*, *chachendra suran*, *singhara*, *salak*, *pindalu*, *siyala*, and *kesru*. Among the sags were spinach, *chaulai*, fenugreek and *bathua*.⁹²

Onions, garlic and ginger were available in large quantities at exceedingly cheap rates and were invariably used in all vegetable preparations. Onions and garlic cost 40 *dams* per maund, cabbage 20 *dams*, mint and spinach 16 and 10 *dams* respectively. Other items of vegetables were available at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 *dams* per maund.⁹³

At a banquet given by Asaf Khan in November 1617 to Sir Thomas

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Roe, 'potatoes excellently well dressed' were served.⁹⁴ According to Sir George Watt, this is the first mention of the ordinary potato in connection with India, if, however, Edward Terry was not referring to sweet potato which was so common in India.⁹⁵ Sweet potatoes were known, as *yams* or *ratalūs* and were served to elephants in Goa.⁹⁶ Later on, in the sixties of the 17th century, the Indian potatoes, along with sugarcane and other plants and roots were being regularly sent to St. Helena for plantation.⁹⁷

Everywhere in India Terry found good roots as carrots and potatoes. They had onions, garlic and choice herbs for salad. In the South, ginger was grown in abundance.⁹⁸

Ovington remarked : 'The Banians feed plentifully upon cucumber as we do on apples'.⁹⁹

In Surat they grew carrots, turnips, radishes, cabbages, peas and beans. There were many herbs used for salad there.¹⁰⁰

The Brahmins, monks and ascetics used to content themselves with a meal of boiled rice, mixed with vegetables and curd and whey.¹⁰¹ The vegetarian diet of the common people used to be *dalbhat* (rice mixed with pulses and ghee), bread along with *papar*, *mongri* and *vadi*.¹⁰² Their occasional sweet dish was *khir*.¹⁰³

Ovington has a word of praise for Hindus in view of their preference for vegetable diet. Because of their 'abstemious' diet (which to them was so natural), the Hindus, according to him, kept a comely and proportionate body and lived a long life. The simple and meatless food made their thoughts 'quick and nimble', their 'comprehension of things' easier. This 'religious abstinence' developed other rare qualities in them. It engendered in them a spirit of fearlessness. They gave up passion for the transitory things of the world. This habit of life 'set their spirits upon the Wings, ready without reluctance to quit this life' and made the majority among them 'pass as comfortably into the invisible world as they would like a journey from their own kingdom into another country'.¹⁰⁴

The Hindus, according to the same authority, could never be tempted, either for the delicacy of food, or for 'prevention of either Sickness or Death', to indulge in 'so enormous an offence as the tasting of flesh'. They enjoyed with innocence a diet of milk, rice and vegetables and other green things which Nature afforded in plenty.¹⁰⁵

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The tenderness of the Hindus towards the mute animals had made India, according to Ovington, 'of all the regions of the Earth' 'the only Publick Theatre of Justice and Tenderness to Brutes and all living creatures'.¹⁰⁶

On the other hand, he condemns the Christians for their gluttony and 'Voracious Appetite'. He did not view with approbation the habit of the Europeans of heaping whole 'Bisks (a rich soup or potage, made by boiling down birds etc.)', of fish and other birds upon their tables and sacrificing large number of animals simply to satisfy their hunger.¹⁰⁷

Non-Vegetarian Diet

'Both the Hindus and the Muslims enjoyed non-vegetarian meals. The Hindus refrained from taking beef¹⁰⁸ and the Muslims never touched the flesh of swine,¹⁰⁹ as they regarded the flesh of hogs as most 'polluted of all other animals'.¹¹⁰ The Muslims took beef, mutton, goat's flesh. They ate flesh of any other 'creature' excepting that of swine, although 'the Grandees will taste of this, as well as wine and will not stick at the eating of it at a private collection'.¹¹¹ They abstained from the meat of unclean animals and 'loaded their Tables with Fish and Fowl and other Fare'.¹¹²

Malik Mohammad Jāyasi has described the different kinds of non-vegetarian dishes cooked at the feast of a Hindu Rāja. He has taken pains to elaborate the process of preparation of *kabab*, meat soup, *qima*, roasted goats, meat *sambosas* and varieties of meat mixed with vegetables and a number of fresh fruits like oranges, grapes, *chakotras*, coconut and mangoes and dry fruits like dates.¹¹³

Abul Fazl has given the details of meat preparations in the royal kitchen of Akbar. The dishes prepared of rice and meat as mentioned in the *Āin* are : *qabuli*, *zirbiryan*, *qima-pulao*, *shullah*, *bughra*, *qima shullah*, *hareesah*, *keshak*, *halim*, *muttab* or *sambosah*.¹¹⁴

With the exception of *zirbiryan*, *hareesah* and *muttab*, in the preparation of all other dishes, gram was an essential ingredient. Other items, of course, were rice, flesh, *ghee* and spices in case of *qabuli*, *zirbiryan*, *shullah*, *qima shullah* and wheat in place of rice in other dishes.¹¹⁵

The dishes of meat without vegetables, rice or wheat flour were *biryan*, *yakhni*, *kabab*, *musmen*, *do-piazah*, *motanjeh*, *dampukht*, *quliyah*, and

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malghūbah. In the preparation of all these dishes flesh of goat or sheep along with lot of *ghee* was used and all kinds of spices were usually inter-mixed.¹¹⁶

The Muslims were fond of *dampukht* prepared with spices in butter. *Pulao* was their special dish. It was meat or fowl or fish boiled with rice and spices and cooked in *ghee*. They liked pickles and sweets as well. When they invited Christians, they entertained them with various dishes and between meals plied them with coffee and tobacco, costly rosewater, scented with sandal. They served them with oranges at the end and gave them betel leaf.¹¹⁷

According to Ovington, Muslims took rich and delicate food after having dressed it with spices, which invigorated their spirits, warmed their stomachs and inflamed the 'vital heat'.¹¹⁸

Kabab has also been referred to by the Hindi poet of Akbar's time, Brahm, the famous Birbal.¹¹⁹ It has also been mentioned in the Newsletters of Aurangzeb's period.¹²⁰

The Surat factors used to send to the employees of the East India Company at Broda and Broach *dumbas* (fat-tailed sheep).¹²¹

In the list of animals whose flesh was eaten by the people, Abul Fazl has mentioned Deshmundy, Afghani, Kashmiri, Indian and Kashmiri sheep; and also goats.¹²² Jayasi has referred to the flesh of goats, sheep, deer, mountain deer, chital, sambhar and hares.¹²³ According to Linschoten, there was a great store of cattle in Akbar's time. Oxen, kine, sheep, goats, hogs and other animals were found in large quantity and at cheap rates. Oxen were as a rule not slaughtered for eating. Mutton was forbidden to the sick, but not the pork. The sheep were fat and yielded much flesh, even in the tail. Buffaloe's meat was not good to eat, though the poor did use it. The country was full of wild boars, hares and harts.¹²⁴

Coverté found the people enjoying hunting as a pastime and for this purpose went to jungles and the 'commons'.¹²⁵ The jungles abounded in red deer, fallow deer, elkes, antelopes and hares. The people used to go there regularly for hunting.¹²⁶ Another traveller of the reign of Jahangir found the meat here ample and cheap. Sheep and goats and deer and other game were plentiful. The supply was large and cheap. Buffaloes were freely killed, although the slaughter of cows and oxen was forbidden by Jahangir 'on pain of death'. He had

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done this, says Palsaert, to please the Hindu Rajas who regarded these animals as sacred. The rich Hindus, according to him, used to bribe the Emperor or some particular governor to issue a general order forbidding fishing and sale of meat and fish in the market on several days. Such orders, he testifies, caused inconvenience to the people in general and not to the rich who could slaughter animals daily in their own houses.¹²⁷

Hamilton found a large number of deer and antelopes in Orissa in Aurangzeb's reign. No hunting of these animals was allowed in the jungles near Jagannath Puri.¹²⁸

Among the birds of flesh the *Āin* has included partridges, quails, cranes, bustard, doves, larks (*lawā*), *boodneh*, *karwank*, and geese.¹²⁹

In addition to the above, Jayasi has mentioned the names of pigeons, *panduk* (a brown coloured bird of pigeon family), *kheha* (a kind of partridge), *gudru* (like quail), *usakhgeri* (a small sparrow), *haril*, *sohan* sparrow, *pidda* sparrow, wild fowl, *nakta* (a sort of duck), *ledi* (a small water fowl) and *son* and *silara* (kinds of ducks).¹³⁰

Covert found in India excellent hawks and 'great store of game', such as pheasants, partridges, plovers, quails, mullard and all sorts of fowl.¹³¹ Palsaert also testifies to the availability of a number of birds as fowls, geese and ducks.¹³²

Dr. John Fryer who left India in 1681, saw in the lakes and ponds of Surat peculiar brands of geese, solum, cranes or *saras* and also wild fowls.¹³³ Alexander Hamilton found in Surat a number of birds used for eating such as 'paddy-bird', 'corn-bird', partridges, fowls, wild geese, ducks, 'teal', several sorts of 'turtle-doves', both 'beautiful and well tasted'.¹³⁴

Malik Mohammad Jayasi has referred to a variety of fish eaten in India in the middle of the 16th century. They were : rohu, chelhua, padhin, sendha, singhala, tangani, moyai, singi mongarj, nariya, bhoth, bamb and bangur.¹³⁵

According to Linschoten, fish in India was plentiful and 'some very pleasant and sweete'. The best fish was known by the names of 'Mordexin', 'Pampano', and 'Tatiingo'. Another excellent kind of fish was 'Piexe Serra' which was cut in round pieces and could last long in ships when sent abroad. 'Carriil' (or curry) was a preparation made of rice and fish, tasted well, and was in daily use by the people. Shads, soles, 'garneton' were other kinds of fish available. The last one was the 'best and greatest', that Linschoten ever saw. A dozen of them could make a

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good meal. 'Crabs and crevishes' were 'verie good and marvellous great'. There were also 'muskles' and such like shell fishes' of many sorts and oysters in Cochin. Fish was in plenty in the Indian rivers and in the sea along the coast and quite cheap. A fish known by the Portugese as 'Tubaron' or 'Hayen' was dangerous and devoured people fishing for pearls in the sea.¹³⁶

The English factors in Qasimbazar used to enjoy *hisba* fish or fish sable.¹³⁷

In the *Padmavat* there is a detailed description of the cooking of fish. They were cut, washed with curd four times, put into a cloth and thoroughly rinsed so that all the water came out of them. Then small pieces of them were made and fried in oil and fenugreek. To make it savoury, spices were added. Many kinds of fish *bhartā* were also prepared. Another preparation was made by frying the eggs of the fish in *ghee* separately.¹³⁸

The Hindi poet Vrinda has referred to the eating of the fish which made the eater very thirsty subsequently.¹³⁹

During Akbar's time mutton was available at 65 *dams* and flesh of goats at 52 *dams* per maund.¹⁴⁰ In Bengal an ox or a cow was available for one *lari*.¹⁴¹

Sir Thomas Roe complains that in 1616, Ajmer was as costly as London and one sheep cost Rs. 3½.¹⁴² Six years earlier, the price of sheep or goat at Agra was only 2 shillings and so that of a hog. One ox cost two dollars.¹⁴³

A cow in Shahjahan's time in Bengal cost 3 or 4 rials.¹⁴⁴

The *Āin* has given the prices of birds as well. A quail cost three and a dove four *dams*, *lawā* and *boodneh* were available at one *dam* each and other birds mentioned in the *Āin* (p. 86 above) at about 20 *dams* each.¹⁴⁵ In Jahangir's time near Surat one hen cost 3 half-pence and 16 eggs could be purchased for one penny.¹⁴⁶ In Agra one hen cost 2 pence in 1610.¹⁴⁷

Ghee and Butter

Ghee and butter were important items of food in India, used abundantly by the people.¹⁴⁸ Ghee was used for frying vegetables and meat, *puris* and *kachauris*, for the preparation of sweets¹⁴⁹ and applied to chapatis¹⁵⁰ or cakes of wheat-flour. It was used in khichri.¹⁵¹ For the

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vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes prepared in the royal kitchen, large quantity of ghee was always used.¹⁵² Manrique and his companions were once 'supplied plentifully' with rice, ghee and other articles prepared from milk.¹⁵³ Ghee was mixed with brown sugar and eaten at meal times.¹⁵⁴ Bhikari Das has referred to the use of ghee¹⁵⁵ and so have other Hindi writers. For the young married people consumption of ghee was regarded as essential.¹⁵⁶ Manrique found horses of value being fed on *mung*, mixed with ghee and sugar.¹⁵⁷ In Orissa, as in other places, plenty of ghee was available.¹⁵⁸

Mughal Emperors used to order the purchase of ghee from different places in large quantities. In the days of Aurangzeb, parties of officials at the head of armies were sent for this purpose when the Emperor was in the South. There are copious references to this fact in the Jaipur Newsletters.¹⁵⁹

The factors of the East India Company used to purchase butter from different places for use and export as it was available in abundance. They purchased it from Ankleshwar,¹⁶⁰ Baroda,¹⁶¹ Sind¹⁶² and other parts of India in *dubbas* or *martabans* covered with coir to prevent breakage. In the beginning of the thirties of the 17th century, the price of butter in Baroda was $1\frac{1}{4}$ seers per *mahmudi*¹⁶³ (a silver coin worth 12 pence). In January, 1632, it was selling at 25 to 30 *mahmudis* per maund.¹⁶⁴

Oil

Oil was used for cooking purposes.¹⁶⁵ Fish was fried in oil.¹⁶⁶ Sesame oil cost 80 *dams* per maund (32 pounds) in Akbar's¹⁶⁷ time. Coconut oil was used in many places for cooking meals as today. In Daman people made use of it to 'dress fish'¹⁶⁸. The East India Company sent oil, along with butter, candles, pulses and rice and other provisions from India to Gombroon for the consumption of their factors there.¹⁶⁹ We find a reference to an oil mill belonging to the Nayak of Surat.¹⁷⁰

Sweets

Because of the abundance of milk, *ghee* and sugar in the country, a variety of sweets was prepared¹⁷¹. There were three sorts of sugar available in the country, white, brown and black. Sugar candy was yet another kind. Besides other places, Gujarat, Bengal and Bihar were especially known for the production of white sugar. The price of white powdered sugar in Ahmadabad in 1613 was two rupees per maund (of 32 pounds).¹⁷² Brown [sugar] was prepared not only from sugar cane, but from the juice

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of coconut tree also. The latter was known as *jagre*¹⁷³ and was available in such abundance that it was given even to horses.¹⁷⁴ It was not much esteemed as white sugar was available in large quantity.¹⁷⁵ There is a reference also to the availability of black sugar in the country.¹⁷⁶

Sugar was shipped abroad in large quantities. The English, Dutch and the Portuguese carried on a flourishing trade in sugar and sugar candy. There are many references in the records of the East India Company to the internal and external trade in this important commodity.¹⁷⁷ Trade in sugar with China was very profitable to the East India Company.¹⁷⁸

The contemporary Hindi poets have referred to the availability of variety of sweets in the country. Some of them were : *laddū; laddū būndi, laddu nukti, jalebi, shakarpara, malpura, andarsa, khajuri, ghebar, tingari, kauri, gondpak, gindoi, ghujā, ilaichipak, amarti, pheni, peḍa, sira, lapsi, pethapak* and so on.¹⁷⁹

Foreign travellers found the shops in the bazars of the various cities visited by them full of sweets. Bowery remarked that their sweets were well known.¹⁸⁰ Manrique saw in Bengal 'many kinds of lecteus food and of sweetmeats prepared in their own way, for they have a great abundance of sugar in those parts.'¹⁸¹ He was surprised to find 'huge amounts of foodstuffs and dainties of all sorts' in the 'numerous Bazars or markets in the country'. 'Entire streets could be seen wholly occupied by skilled sweetmeat-makers who proved their skill by offering wonderful sweets-scented dainties of all kinds which would stimulate the most jaded appetite to gluttony.'¹⁸² Goa was known for excellent sweets.¹⁸³

Curd

Curd has been an integral part of meals in an Indian family. It was usually taken at lunch time. Curd was milk turned thick after coajulating it with rennet, known as *jaman*.¹⁸⁴ Curd mixed with boiled rice and sugar made a sweet dish which was described very effective against 'Fevers and Fluxes', the prevailing Distempers of India¹⁸⁵. To get butter, curd was churned in an earthen pot. After removing butter, the whey¹⁸⁶ was used for drinking.

The cowherds took rice and curd on *pattals* along with vegetables and *sikhran*¹⁸⁷ which was a preparation made of curd, sugar, copra and saffron.¹⁸⁸ Rice cooked with curd, sugar or salt was made into a dish termed as *mahera*.¹⁸⁹ Another use was of curd mixed in *pakori* made of

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gram-flour which was deep-fried in *ghee*. It was called *raita-pakori*. At breakfast they took butter mixed in curd and sugar-candy¹⁹⁰.

Spices

It could never be regarded possible to cook food in an Indian home without spices of which the various items were : saffron, cloves, cardamoms, cinnamon, cumin-seed, round pepper, green pepper, dry and green ginger, coriander-seed, aniseed, turmeric, carraway or ajwain, fenugreek, asafoetida, mustard-seed and of course salt.¹⁹¹

Pepper was of different sorts, black and white, long and green. The black pepper was in common use in India and was also exported to 'all places in the world'. The white and long variety was also sent to places outside India.¹⁹² Cardamom was grown in Malabar and was in common use in India and was also sent abroad.¹⁹³ It was also used against a 'stinking breath'.¹⁹⁴ Ginger was abundantly grown in many parts of India and the best quality was exported to other countries.¹⁹⁵ The '*Ain*¹⁹⁶ has given the detailed prices of these items of spices during Akbar's period and we get the prices in Jahangir's time from the '*Letters Received by the East India Company*'.¹⁹⁷

Pickles and Conserves and Sauces

Indians were very fond of pickles and preserves.¹⁹⁸ The '*Ain* has mentioned all the items which used to be pickled. They were : quinces, apples, currants or *kishmish*, cashew-nuts, coconuts, apricots, onions, garlic, *sejneh*, keryl-flowers, *sooren* roots, mustard, *turai*, cucumber, gourd, kachalu and radish-pods.¹⁹⁹

In Goa they made use of green pepper when they pickled it in vinegar and salt.²⁰⁰ Ginger was also pickled and used as salad.²⁰¹ The same was true of green cloves and nutmegs.²⁰²

During the end of the 16th century of pickled quinces, apples and currants cost 8 or 9 *dams* per seer, pickled cashew-nuts cost two *dams* per seer and all other kinds of pickles were available at $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 *dam* per seer.²⁰³

Similarly, they made preserves of various fruits and roots and spices. Mango was conserved in sugar as to-day and was sent abroad. Green pepper, green cloves, nutmegs and other fruits were also conserved.²⁰⁴ The factors of the East India Company used to purchase these preserves in large quantity and send them abroad. They preserved these preserves in *dabbas* of hides and in *martabans* (jars) protected by coir.²⁰⁵

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In 1615, the prices of the conserves in Cambay were : ginger green at Rs. 2, 27 pice per maund; myrobalan @ Rs. $3\frac{1}{4}$ per maund; mangoes @ Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ per maund and *bel* fruit @ Rs. 5 per maund.²⁰⁶

Tamarind had a very strong and sharp taste and was considered best for sauce. While making use of it they crushed it through fingers. When mixed in rice or meat, tamarind gave a sharp taste. Tamarind was salted and sent to Portugal, Arabia, Persia and other countries.²⁰⁷

Preparations of Meals

The common people cooked their meals with a fire made of cow-dung and camel-dung and firewood.²⁰⁸ In the country, however, there was scarcity of trees causing the dearth of firewood which sold at 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ pice per pound. As the people in general could not afford to spend so much, they burned cowdung, mixed with straw and dried in the sun, as it was done in the contemporary Holland.²⁰⁹

They made their bread up in cakes and baked it on small iron hearths. To the bread they applied ghee or cheese.²¹⁰

In the royal kitchen of Akbar the largest kind of bread known as *nan* was baked in an oven. It was made of 10 seers of *maida* (fine wheat-flour), 5 seers of cow's milk, $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers of *ghee*, and $\frac{1}{4}$ seer of salt. Even the smallest *nan* could be made of these ingredients. From one seer of wheat flour about 15 breads could be made. Another kind known as *chapati* was made from wheat flour on an iron plate. The *chapatis* thus prepared were brought to the dining table hot and fresh.²¹¹

Bread was also termed as *roti*²¹² and *phulka*²¹³ as is the custom even today. For breakfast, bread made from gram flour was preferred and was called as *misi roti*.²¹⁴

In the bazars of Lahore during Shahjahan's time, Sebastian Manrique found three kinds of *chapatis* or flat cakes. They were *apas*, *curchas* and *roghani*. *Apas* actually was the Tamil name for *chapati*. It formed the usual bread of the ordinary and poor people and was made from flour. This bread was baked on iron plates or clay dishes which were put upon live embers. The second kind of bread, *Curuchas*, was white good bread used by the rich people and more refined classes. The third sort was *Roghani*, very fine, delicate in taste and flavour and made from wheat flour and the purest ghee. Yet

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another kind was *mithi roghni*, which contained much ghee and also sugar.²¹⁵

Among the utensils used in the kitchen were *tawa*²¹⁶, *kathoi*,²¹⁷ plates, patilas, katoras, bowls and other articles.²¹⁸

The common people cooked their meals in earthen vessels.²¹⁹

Mannerism in Meals.

Hindu Families

The orthodox Hindus would take their bath, perform worship and then go in the kitchen for taking their lunch.²²⁰ They were more 'punctilious and much stricter than the Moslems in their ceremonies'. No man or woman among them ever omitted to take their bath in the morning, however cold it might be. They never touched their food until they had not washed themselves.²²¹ For them to take meals without first having a bath was regarded as an 'atrocious sin'.²²²

The monks, ascetics, Brahmins and other learned men never took their meals without regular bath. They wore dhoti and sat, with their legs crossed, upon a small mat which was spread over the floor in the kitchen, rubbed with cowdung.

It was common practice for all sorts of Hindus, including the 'cleverest' among them—'those who look down upon the rest of the world'—to have their houses plastered with cowdung.²²³ They mixed the cowdung with mud and with it not only scoured their houses, but walls and floors as well. The place where they took their meals, (*chauka*)—was smeared with cowdung daily, and by some, even afresh before every meal.²²⁴ They took their meals on *pattals* which were made of small leaves of trees stitched together with rushes, and rubbed with a pinch of salt and a few drops of ghee.²²⁵ The *pattals* were thrown away after use.²²⁶ In Goa, their tables, table-cloths and napkins were made of the leaves of the fig trees which served as plates at the time of meals.²²⁷ In Malabar, cups and spoons and plates were made of coconuts. The rich, however, used metal utensils.²²⁸ *Donas*, made of the leaves of the *plasha* tree, were made use of as small plates.²²⁹

The Hindus took their meals sitting on the ground 'after the Muslim fashion'.²³⁰ They sat in a well-marked enclosure, naked and bare-headed. No body could enter the enclosure or the *chauka* while they were eating. In case they were disturbed, they would rather give up eating.²³¹

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When an honoured guest came, he was seated on a wooden *chowki* and his hands and feet were washed by the host.²³² They ate only with their right hand, and did not touch anything with the left, not even the *pattals* or spoons.²³³

Women did not eat along with men. They served them first and ate later.²³⁴

When a Hindu invited an important person to his house for lunch or dinner, he was particular to see that even the servants and the dogs accompanying the guest were properly entertained.²³⁵

According to the late Dr. V. S. Agarwala, special kinds of taboos and traditions regarding the practice of untouchability in matters of food, had been introduced in India in the 7th century A.D.²³⁶ The practice prevailed among the Hindus in Mughal India as well. They did not take food touched²³⁷ or cooked²³⁸ by the Muslims. However poor a Hindu might be, he would never dream of taking food touched by a Christian. The European travellers in India were puzzled at this attitude of the Hindus employed by them on low wages. If by any mistake, their cooking pots were touched by the Europeans or their non-Hindu servants, they would break them to pieces (in case of earthen pots).²³⁹ A Hindu servant boy engaged by a foreign traveller on a meagre wage of four pice a day, would refuse to eat or drink with his foreign employer.²⁴⁰ Dr. Gamelli Careri (1695), the Italian traveller, was surprised to find that none of his Hindu servants would accept a slice of melon cut up by him. He complains that even if a person might be starving for as many as five days, he refused to take anything touched by a European.²⁴¹ Even among the lowest classes of Hindus there were some farmers who did not eat with Muslims or Christians.²⁴²

The Hindus as a rule did not buy cooked meals from the market for fear of its being touched by unclean hands. They took meals cooked in their homes only.²⁴³ In the South they purchased even their ration from the Hindu shops.²⁴⁴ Robert Coverte observed that the Banias of Cambay did not 'eat one with another'.²⁴⁵ In Surat he found that 'Husband and Wife eat separate'.²⁴⁶

Muslim Families

The rich Muslims did not observe strict hours for meals. Before eating they also washed their hands.²⁴⁷ They took their meals on a carpet on which a piece of cloth was spread. This was known as *sufra* or

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dastarkhan.²⁴⁸ The food in the house of a noble or a rich Muslim consisted of divers dishes of roasted and fried meat, *pulao*, rice of many varieties, salads and of many other delicious items. The head cook would sit in the middle and serve each guest according to his rank. They did not use spoons or knives while eating, but their 'five fingers which they besmear upto the knuckles soldier-fashion, for napkins are not used, and it is very bad manners to lick the fingers'. They did not touch the food with their left hand, nor drank wine or water during the meals.²⁴⁹

The rich Muslims, as mentioned above, took their meals on a carpet or *dastarkhan*.²⁵⁰ Sir Thomas Roe had on one occasion (August, 1616) the honour of being the guest at a banquet given by Mir Jamal-ud-din, the Governor of Surat, at *Hafiz Jamal*, a pleasure garden of Jahāngir, near Ajmer. The dinner was served on a carpet on which a piece of cloth was spread. On their *dastarkhan* came dishes of roasted and fried meat, salads and rice of many varieties. After the supper, the Mir gave Roe, as per the custom, a suitable present. It consisted of five cases of sugar candy dressed with musk and one 'lofe of most fine sugar white as snow, about 50 li weight'.²⁵¹

According to Malik Mohammad Jayasi, after a feast, *sherbet* was served and *argaja* was given to all the guests.²⁵²

Practice of untouchability. The Muslims did not lag behind the Hindus in the observance of untouchability in matter of food. They avoided taking meals along with the Europeans at the same table or *dastarkhan*. A contemporary authority observes : "Though the Mehometans in TURKEY and PERSIA will eat with the Christians yet these (Indian Muslims) will not eat, nor eat what we touch, retaining so much the custome of the INDIANS, who will not eat what MOORES have touched."²⁵³

At the banquet of *Hāfiz Jamal*, referred to above, the host did not share the carpet with Roe and his Christian companions. The Europeans had to sit separately from the Muslims, 'they holding it a kind of uncleanness to mingle with us'.²⁵⁴ After the regular dinner was over, the Nawab condescended to sit with the English Ambassador to give him company and eat with him. The menu now, however, consisted of fresh and dry fruits only and no other dishes were served. The same evening, when Roe and his two companions joined the Mir at 'supper', he had the same kind of experience of sitting separately at another carpet. The

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Nawab explained to him that it was customary among them to eat among themselves, otherwise 'his countrymen would take it ill if he eats with them'.²⁵⁵ Roe does not register any protest or complaint against this treatment by the Muslim host; rather, he seems to have taken it for granted.

Soon afterwards, Mir Jamal-ud-din was appointed Governor of Sironj. He came to Roe's house on August 19, 1616, accompanied by his two sons and 100 servants. They ate some 'banqueting stuff' prepared in the Englishman's house by his Muslim cooks and refrained from taking any meat preparations provided in the English fashion, a 'kind of superstition forbidding him'. He, however, asked Roe to send such four or five special dishes to his house, so that he could eat them 'in private'.²⁵⁶

Dr. John Fryer remarked that when Muslims invited a Christian to their houses, they ordered 'dishes apart'.²⁵⁷

Mannerism among Englishmen in India

The English factors serving in the East India Company in India also tried to follow Indian practice during meals. They washed their hands before and after the meals. They considered this necessary due to 'decency' and also on account of the heat and dust which were so troublesome. They dined in silver plates and 'Dishes' which were 'massy and substantial', and drank in cups called in the Persian language as *tas*. The East India Company at Surat had engaged Indian, Portugese, and English cooks, who prepared meals to suit different tastes. The Indian cooks prepared *pulão* which was boiled so artistically that every grain 'lies singly without being coddled together, with spices intermixt'. *Pulao* was the most common Indian dish. Another Indian preparation relished by the Englishmen was *dampukht*, i.e. 'aircooked'. It was 'boned and stuffed fowl' boiled with ghee in a small vessel and stuffed with raisins and almonds. They also enjoyed *kabab*, which was beef or mutton cut into small pieces and sprinkled with pepper.

They also had pickles made of bamboo or mango or soya sauce. Ovington remarked that the people of Surat were fond of asafotida which they intermixed even with *chapatis*. Because of its beneficial effects, the Englishmen felt tempted occasionally to taste it.²⁵⁸ On the suggestion of the Indian doctors they sometimes used asafotida in cakes as a cure against 'wind at the stomach' in spite of its 'stinging savour'.²⁵⁹

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We learn from a letter written from Patna in 1614, that the English residing there were 'eating fresh beef all while, besides rack and oil'. To the Dutch they sold beef and pork.²⁶⁰

The Englishmen living in Bengal liked *hilsa* fish or fish sable.²⁶¹

A servant of the East India Company, William Smyth, wrote to his father, John Smyth, in three letters in 1658, 1659 and 1661 that 'the chiefest of our diet all the year round', on the Coromandel Coast 'is wild ducks and such like'. There was abundance of wild fowl there.²⁶²

The food served in a ship of the East India Company, 'James' captained by Alexander Childe, in March 1617, consisted of bread, fresh beef, goat's flesh, fresh fish with oil or vinegar, rice and sugar and wine and beer.²⁶³ In Captain Weddell's fleet in 1624, they were served with flesh and fish, butter or oil, peas or oatmeal, pudding and strong beer.²⁶⁴

Pan

Chewing of betel leaf was an exceedingly common habit in India. *Pan* was a universal favourite in this country. It was rather the 'daily breade of India'.²⁶⁵ People belonging to different walks of life in all parts of India enjoyed the betel leaf. On festive occasions it was distributed freely.²⁶⁶

Pan was sold in every corner, street and shop of a town and on every highway for travellers.²⁶⁷

It was usually taken after meals²⁶⁸ by almost all the Indians, otherwise their meals would rise in their 'stomakes'. Yet many people, particularly the women, used it all the day, right from the morning till night.²⁶⁹ Linschoten is of the view that there was no man or woman in the whole of India who did not chew one or two dozen of these leaves in the course of a day. He found the people usually carrying the betel leaves even in the streets.²⁷⁰

When people visited any person, they were presented with a roll of betel leaf known as *bida*. To allow a visitor to leave the house without it was regarded an affront and so also the refusal to accept²⁷¹ it. The refusal was rather considered as a 'great piece of rashness'.²⁷² They took all care to sweeten their breath by chewing betel leaf before they went to meet any person.^{272a}

Indian ladies took their betel leaves along with them during their visits to their friends. The greatest pleasure or entertainment was the

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presentation to others of betel leaf, areca nut and catechu from painted 'wooden dishes' which they failed not to carry with them.²⁷³

The Dutch Linschoten who spent five years in Goa among the Portuguese, has made interesting observations about their ladies resident in India. The only 'exercise' for most of them was to wash themselves and then start chewing betel leaf like 'Oxen or kine chewing their cud' throughout the day and even at night. Their example in many cases was followed by their husbands.²⁷⁴

The Europeans who had for some time lived in these parts were equally fond of the betel leaf. *Pan* was in 'great esteem' among the people of both the upper and lower strata.²⁷⁵

Betel-chewing was a favourite habit among the Mughals.²⁷⁶ The Persian name for *pan* was *barg-i-tambol*. The Mughal Emperors had a special apartment known as *Tambol-Khana*, where only the betel leaves were preserved.²⁷⁷ When the Emperors went on tours, a tent served as an apartment.²⁷⁸ When the great nobles called upon the Emperor, royal Princes and Princesses, they were presented with the betel leaf. It was considered as a mark of royal favour²⁷⁹. The high nobles who came to offer greetings on the occasion of the *id-ul-fitr* received betel leaves from the Princess, Zebun-nisa, on 17th January, 1705.²⁸⁰

When the Italian traveller Manucci landed at Surat in January, 1656, he was surprised to see almost every body spitting something red as blood. He inferred that it was the common practice of the people to have their teeth extracted. It was an English lady who removed his doubt and assured him that the effect was due to the use of a certain 'aromatic leaf', *pan*.²⁸¹

The usual method of making *pan* was to take one leaf of betel (or even more), to pull the 'veins or strings out of the leaf', smear it with lime and catechu, put small pieces of areca nut, roll it and put it in mouth. Or they took a piece of areca and some catechu, put the two in the mouth to be chewed, to be followed with the leaf smeared with lime. 'The first sop thereof they spit forth, the rest of the juice they 'swallow downe.'²⁸² Some Indians added a few grains of cardamom, and a small quantity of cinnamon. This gave it a 'very agreeable taste'.²⁸³

The kings and nobles used pills made of areca nut, catechu, camphor, with beaten lignum aloes and a little amber, which they used along with betel leaf and lime.²⁸⁴

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Betel is from the Portugese batle. In Sanskrit it is called *parna*, *patta* or leaf. In Malayalam, it is known as *vetilla*, simple or mere leaf and in Hindustani as *pan*.²⁸⁵ In Persian language it was known as *barg-i-tambol*.²⁸⁶

The Persian and Hindi writers and European travellers have bestowed praise on the use of the *pan*. Amir Khusrow of Delhi used to call the betel leaf as the best fruit of India. Abul Fazl has praised it as it left a sweet fragrance in the mouth; moreover, the *pan* strengthened the teeth.²⁸⁷

Hindi poets have made frequent references to the betel leaf which they called *tambol* or *bida*.²⁸⁸ According to the famous Hindi poet Usman, there were seven kinds of nectar for the Bengalis of which the *pan* was one.²⁸⁹ The chewing of betel leaf, writes Sur Das, gave scarlet colour to the lips and a peculiar shine to the teeth.²⁹⁰

European travellers have referred to the utility and beneficent properties of *pan*. Linschoten who was a doctor, thought that it was 'very good for the maw, and against a stinking breath, a sovereign medicine for the teeth'. He asserts that, as a result of betel-chewing, the Indians never suffered from any disease of gums or teeth, and even in old age had their complete teeth.²⁹¹ According to Sir Thomas Roe, 'it bytts in the mouth avoyds rume, cooles the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their phisicke; . . . in time coullers the teeth which is esteemed a beawty'.²⁹² Terry wrote; : 'There is yet another helps to comfort the stomacke for such as forbear wine, a herbe called Beetle or Pawne. . . . It hath many rare qualities; for it preserves the teeth, comforts the braine, strengthens the stomacke, and cures and prevents a tainted breath.'²⁹³

Writing during the first decade of Shahjahan's period the Portugese Manrique, like the Venetian Manucci, who visited India towards the end of the same reign, terms *pan* as 'an aromatic leaf'. It was, writes he, 'an excellent stomachic and sedative, besides removing unpleasant odours in the mouth and preserving the teeth, when mixed with pure lime.'²⁹⁴

If Manucci was a quasi-medico, Schouten, like Linschoten, was himself a doctor. He found the betel leaf useful for preserving and strengthening the teeth, 'so that pesons of 80 or 90 retain their complete'.²⁹⁵

Glanius who visited India in 1651, found the betel useful for cleansing the mouth.²⁹⁶

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According to John Marshall, the English traveller, who was in Bengal from 1668 to 1672, the betel leaf was used in a medicine by whores to keep a man under control.²⁹⁷ He says that Surjanband, a famous physician of Patna, gave an Englishman a medicine for French Pox (syphilis), known as *Ram Bhadra Ras*. It was to be taken in the morning with betel leaf or even otherwise.²⁹⁸

Dellon, the French physician, who was in southern India from 1669 to 1676, has referred to the utility of *pan*. The betel leaf, writes he, 'fortified the Stomach, promotes Digestion, and leaves a leaf, good smell behind it, moistens the mouth, dyes the Spittle and Lips red; from whence without Question is arisen the vulgar error that some have affirmed it, makes the Gums Bleed.' He affirms that it was a 'great Specifick against the Stone.' He himself had experienced it several times when he prescribed it to some persons of his acquaintance. He was of the view that in most places where it was used frequently, 'I never met with any body that was afflicted with this Distemper.'²⁹⁹

Other travellers like Barbosa,³⁰⁰ Pyrard de Laval³⁰¹ and Ovington³⁰² have also mentioned the virtues of *pan*.

Common people had their own *pandans* which were washed with clean water and then filled with betel leaves.³⁰³

Pans were sent even to the Indian envoy in Persia.³⁰⁴

The betel was planted by sticks whereupon it climbed like ivie. Leaf was its only fruit and was given great care. The leaves were gathered fresh and green, and continued to be in the same condition. They were sold by dozens.³⁰⁵

Fryer found them grown in a conservatory made of mats hung on poles. He has compared it to a cathedral. Such places were regarded as semi-sacred.³⁰⁶

William Finch who visited India much earlier than Dr. John Fryer, found many gardens of betel leaves in Sironj in March 1610.³⁰⁷

Supari or areca nut was the fruit ('like a date-palm') of a tree. Manrique found the shade-giving trees on the banks of the reservoir in the island of Sagar at the mouth of the Hugli.³⁰⁸ The trees were like the palm-trees, though the leaves were thinner, 'somewhat longer and smaller.'³⁰⁹

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In Malaya, areca nut was known as penang.³¹⁰

According to Henry Lancaster, betel leaf was in much use in Achin and from it the people 'fynd great sustenance'.³¹¹

Fruits

Indians have been very fond of fruits. Akbar and his successors spared no efforts in encouraging horticulture. In Akbar's reign, skilled horticulturists came from Persia and Tartary and settled in India.³¹² Under the Mughals there used to be a special officer called the Darogha-i-Baghat to look after the royal gardens and to encourage the cultivation of fruit trees.

Among the fruit trees that were brought from Central Asia to India during Akbar's period were the following :—

Musk melons (from Uzbek country and Kabul), apples (from Samarqand and Kabul), quinces, guava, pomegranates, dates, *kishmish* (dried grapes), jawzmagz, almonds, almonds in shell, pistachio, pistachio nuts, chilgozas, chilgoza nuts, walnuts, plums, apricots, figs, *munaqqa*, *unāb* (jujule fruit) and *sanjad*.³¹³

The sweet fruits of India mentioned in the *Āin* are :

Mango, pine-apple, *ānwala*, *okhah*, *kottal*, plantain, *ber*, pomegranate, *amrit-phal*, figs, mulbery, *sadāphal*, dates, musk-melon, water-melon, *paniyala*, *khirni*, *mahuo*, *dek-phal*, *udsara*, *tendu*, *angohal*, *dela*, *golah*, *bahulsari*, *lokat*, *lahsur*, *khubhi*, *karahri*, *tarari*, *bankah*, *gular*, *pilu*, *barotah*, and *piyar*.³¹⁴

Among the acid fruits were lemon, *amal bet*, *khep* and *bajora*.³¹⁵

In the list of sub-acid fruits given in the *Āin* are : *anwalah*, *badhol*, *kamrak* orange, grape *kohi* (of mountain), *jaman*, *falsah*, *karondah*, *kait*, *kaanku*, *karna*, *behera*, *janehari* and *bajora*.³¹⁶

Coconuts, dates, almonds, pistachios, chilgoza nuts, pistachio nuts, walnuts, makhana *kol kumbh* and *sopiarā* were among the dry fruits in the list given in the *Āin*.³¹⁷

The fruits cultivated in India in the 16th century, according to Malik Mohammad Jāyasi, were the following :—Mango, *Jaman*, orange, *chironji*, *kathal*, *badhal*, *lichi*, pomegranates, *dakh* or *kishmish* (dried grapes),

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khirni, *sharifa* or *sitaphal*, *turanj*, *jhambiri* lemon, clove, areca nut, coconut, nutmeg, dry date, *bijaura*, tamarind, *mahua*, date, *kasaunda*, *anwalah*, *ber*, *karaunda*, plantain, *sadaphal*, *gular* and *galgal*.^{317a}

Other Hindi poets like Sur Dās have referred to dry date, *chironji*, *kishmish*, almonds, coconut, banana, mango, apricot and lemon.³¹⁸

Robert Coverte remarked that India abounded in fruits of different varieties as coconuts, mangoes, pine-apples, lemons, oranges, apricots, pears, plums, raisins etc.³¹⁹

Another Englishman who visited India in Jahangir's reign (Edward Terry) found the country full of musk melons, water melons, pomegranates, lemons, oranges, dates, figs, grapes, plantains, mangoes, pineapples, apples and pears.³²⁰

In a later edition of his book, Terry added dried plums, almonds, coconuts, and Myrobalans (*harar*).³²¹

Referring to Goa fruits, Manucci has referred to *yams* (*ratalu*), figs, bananas, dried grapes, sugar cane, jack fruit, rose-apples, cashew nuts and guava.³²²

In 1672, Aungier, the President of the East India Company at Sūrāt, had provisions sent from Surat for Bombay, among them being garden seeds and sprigs of lemon trees to sow and plant at Bombay. He wrote to the Company at London to send seeds of other fruit trees as well.³²³

Careri found in Daman no European fruits. They had there only Indian fruit trees.³²⁴

The following fruit trees have been mentioned in detail by the foreign travellers :

Coconut tree was of great value to the people. Coconut fruit was used as food. From it was taken juice and edible oil. From the trunk of the tree, *sura* and *nira* were prepared³²⁵ Coconut water was regarded useful as a cure against kidney and liver troubles.³²⁶ The white of the nut was used in rice. The dried fruit called copra was sent in large quantities from Malabar to Cambay, Ormuz and other places.³²⁷ Copra when powdered and mixed with sugar tasted very well, was a good appetiser and a strong 'provocative'.³²⁸ Coconut oil was also used for burning the lamps.³²⁹

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Coconut tree was put to other uses as well. Vessels were made from its wood. Coir fibre was used for making durable and elastic ropes. From coconut tree, paper was also made. The tree was used for building houses and leaves for their roofs.³³⁰ They also made hats for use against the sun and also mats to sit on.³³¹

The palm tree yielded fruit and also *sura* and *nira*.³³²

The fig tree not only gave fruits, but its leaves were used to make *pattals* or plates for eating meals. Paper was also made from it.³³³

Karambola was as big as palm tree and had similar leaves. Its fruit tasted like lemons.³³⁴ In the Deccan it was known as *Camarix* or unripe plums, most used to make preserves and also in medicines.³³⁵

Karkapuli or *karkapoli* was found in the South and was of the shape and taste of orange.³³⁶

Anona, known in Bengal as *nona*, resembled the pear fruit.³³⁷

Ata or *luna* was the fruit *sharifa* or *sitaphal*.³³⁸

Caju tree or cashew, indigenous to Brazil, was introduced in India by the Portugese. It was grown in Malabar and on the Coromandel Coast, in Hijli littoral and in the Chitagong forests of Bengal.³³⁹ It was eaten after roasting.³⁴⁰

Jambolan fruit was large as a pigeon's egg and of purple colour. It was rather astringent and tasted like lemon. It was pricked and rubbed with a little salt.³⁴¹

Karaunda fruit was the wild grape of India. It was reddish from outside and white within and was ripe in April and May.³⁴²

Jambo fruit was also known as rose-apple and ripened in June. It was introduced into Goa from Malacca.³⁴³ The fruit was as big as an apple. It was a delicious fruit and was particularly recommended for the sick. The blossoms of the tree gave good smell.³⁴⁴ It resembled the pear, red from outside and white within.³⁴⁵

Papiya was brought from the Philipines to Malacca and from there to India.³⁴⁶ Watt regarded it as of non-Asiatic origin.³⁴⁷ The male and female trees always grew 'two together' although only the latter bore fruit.³⁴⁸ The fruit was called as a Jesuit melon in the Portugese India, as it looked like a melon and the Jesuit fathers much relished it. The fruit hung like

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clusters of grapes about the top of the tree³⁴⁹ In the beginning it was much relished because of its novelty, 'but now they account not of it', wrote Linschoten towards the end of the 16th century.³⁵⁰

Jack fruit was called as *kathal*. Careri regarded the fruit as the biggest in the world.³⁵¹

Jamboya or Jambo fruit resembled the pear. It was white and red from outside and white within. It had blossoms like orange-flower.^{351a}

The guava tree was introduced into India from South America by the Portugese. In India it is known as *amrud*.³⁵²

Toranja fruit was known as *batavi* or *batapi nebu* in Bengal. It was introduced into India from Java and its fruit resembled a lemon and tasted like an orange.³⁵³

Bilimbi or belambu was used for making sauces and preserves.³⁵⁴

Aonla or amalki or amoli was the English myrobalan. It was used for making sweetmeats and pickles and conserves.³⁵⁵ Myrobalans were found in Cambay, Balaghat, Malabar, Bengal and also in Goa. There were five kinds of myrobalans. The first citrinos or 'Arare' was used for purgatives. The second termed as 'amula' which while green, was used for tanning leather, and when ripe, was eaten as an appetiser. The third sort was known as 'Resonulle'; the fourth was called 'Gutij'. All these were exported abroad. Usually they were regarded as today very useful for stomach troubles and for whetting appetite. When ripe the myrobalans tasted like plums. They were also conserved in sugar.³⁵⁶

'Calamo Aromatico', called 'Vaz' in Gujarat, 'Vache' in the Deccan, 'Vasabu' in Malabar, 'Daringi' in Malacca, and 'Heger' in Persia, was mixed with garlic, cuminseed, sugar, butter and salt and given to horses and considered useful for them. Women also used it against pains.³⁵⁷

Aloe was found in Cambay, Bengal and other places and was regarded extremely useful against a number of diseases.³⁵⁸

Anacardi or Bibo was found in Calicut, Cannanor in the Deccan and in other places. It resembled a bean. Its fruit was used in milk as a cure against short breath and other ailments. While green it was pickled in vinegar and salt.³⁵⁹

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Linschoten records that there grew in India 'Iniamos' and 'Batatas' in plenty. The former were as high as a yellow root, but somewhat thicker and full of knots and wee green under the earth like the earth-nuts. The latter were of somewhat red colour and sweeter than the 'iniamos'. They used them roasted for the last service at meals or used them for porridge.³⁶⁰

Jangoma fruit grow on trees which resembled cherry trees and was of the size of a small round plum of dark and red colour, with some small kernels.³⁶¹

Pine-Apple was of fair colour, yellow and green, sweet in taste and pleasant in smell. Although it was imported into Bengal in 1594 from Brazil by the Portugese, it began to be grown in India in abundance. Before eating, the shell was removed and the inner fruit was cut into slices. In sweetness this fruit called *annannas* 'surpasse all fruits'.³⁶²

Indian apple referred to by Careri was simply a common country fruit.³⁶³

Tamarind fruit was as big as walnut. The tree is quite big and bears the fruit in a shell or pod like the beans.³⁶⁴

Undi or *puna* was a greenish colour fruit.³⁶⁵

Brindojns, grown in Eastern of India, was a fruit a little red or blackish from outside and blood red inside, and very sour to eat.³⁶⁶

Oranges plentiful in India, available in June and July and from December to February. In the neigbourhood of Bayana larger variety of oranges was found. Lemons were also available in abundance.³⁶⁷

Melons were grown in plenty. There was a variety of 'mania melons' which were not so good as those in Spain, and were eaten with sugar. Another sort was '*anguria* melons' which were outwardly of a dark green colour and the inside was white with black kernels.³⁶⁸

Mangoes

Among the Indian fruits, mango was regarded the best. There were in India green, yellow, red, variegated, sweet and sub-acid mangoes.³⁶⁹ Mango was considered not only the best but the 'most profitable' fruit all over the country as it yielded 'a great quantity for food and sustenance of the contrie people'.³⁷⁰ Linschoten found them as big as the egg of a great goose and in some places one piece weighing over two pounds.³⁷¹ Speaking

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of the excellent, big Balaghat mangoes, Dr. Garcia de Orta wrote in 1563 that he saw two pieces of mangoes weighing $4\frac{1}{2}$ pounds.³⁷²

Einschoten found mangoes of green, yellowish and red colour and of very pleasant taste.³⁷³ In Orissa, Manrique saw mangoes which were 'choice and delectable.' He maintained that good mangoes could hold their own with the choicest apples of Europe.³⁷⁴ Bernier had nothing but praise for the mango fruit,³⁷⁵ Manucci was of the view that the best mangoes could be had only in Goa. There mangoes were known by their special names as *Niculao Alfonso*, *Malaisse*, *Carreira Branca*, *Carreira Vermelha*, *Conde*, *Joani Pereira*, *Babia*, *Araup*, *Porta*, *Secreta*, *Mainato*, *Our Lady* and *Ague de Lupe*.³⁷⁶

Writing about the mango fruit in 1673, Dr. John Fryer remarked : 'When ripe the apples of Hesperides are but Fables to them; for Taste, Nectarine, Peach and Apricot fall short'.³⁷⁷

The Italian traveller, Dr. Gamelli Careri, has mentioned four kinds of mangoes in India 'all of them exceeding any European Fruit in delicate Taste'.³⁷⁸

Mango fruit was known to be very good for health. Mangoes were supposed to cure many diseases of the body. When fully ripe, they were of exquisite taste and eaten in vast quantities by Indians and Europeans.³⁷⁹

Mangoes were conserved in sugar and used in the Indian homes for the whole year. The Europeans had developed taste for the preserves. They did not use the mango conserve themselves in India, but purchased large quantity of it in the country and shipped it abroad to a number of countries. There are many references to this in the English Factories in India.

Mangoes were also pickled and used in the country and also sent abroad like the preserves. For using them as pickles and preserves, they were gathered green. Unhusked rice, sodden in wafer, was eaten with salted mangoes by the poor. Mangoes were also stuffed with small pieces of green ginger and sodden garlic and were called 'Mangos Recheades or Machar'. They were kept in oil or vinegar in pots, and being costly, were not used by the common people.³⁸⁰

Malda mangoes were known for their quality.³⁸¹

We learn from the Newsletters that Aurangzeb received on 9th June,

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1701, special mangoes at his court, known as *Bandi Jhor*. Out of them, three mangoes were ordered to be sent to Prince Bedar Bakht, 4 to the Chief Bakshi Bahramand Khan and three to Ruhulla Khan.³³²

Grapes

Grapes have found mention in the contemporary Hindi, Persian and English accounts. Malik Mohammad Jayasi,³⁸³ Bihari³⁸⁴ and Vrinda³⁸⁵ and other contemporary Hindi writers have referred to grapes. It seems that the cultivation of grapes was not much developed by the end of the 16th century as Linschoten did not find grape vines in India except only 'upon some houses', although he did come across raisins in Balaghat, which were local products.³⁸⁶ Palsaert who was in Agra for seven years till about the end of Jahangir's reign, saw the wealthy people planting in their houses vines producing seedless grapes.³⁸⁷ By the time of Aurangzeb, however, cultivation of grapes had found much development. Dellon witnessed that the houses of the well-to-do people in Surat had their gardens surrounded by fine arbours, bearing grapes twice a year.³⁸⁸ Ovington remarked in 1689 that grapes were brought to Surat from the middle of February till towards the end of March, some from Ahmadabad, some from a village called Navapur, four days journey from Surat.³⁸⁹ We learn from a subsequent entry in the records of the East India Company that grapes were grown in Bombay as well.³⁹⁰ A special variety of grapes known as *fajri* was sent as present to Aurangzeb by Mughal Khan, *thanedar* of Andapur, in February, 1700 A.D.³⁹¹

Mughal Emperors were fond of fruits and gave impetus to the cultivation of the fruit trees in the country. Besides the *Darogha-i-Baghat*, they had another officer known as *Darogha-i-mewa-khana* in the palace.³⁹² In April 1695, Khwaja Yaqut, Superintendent of Gardens, submitted to Aurangzeb that Khān Jahān Bahādur had got 400 sprigs of vines from Ahmadābād. The Emperor ordered that they should be planted in different gardens such as the *Shah Bagh*, *Rahmat Bari Masjid* and others.³⁹³ In October, 1699, a special permission was granted to Mahram Khān for laying out a new garden at Aurangābād.³⁹⁴

Fruits as Presents

It was customary for Aurangzeb to receive from his sons, ministers and officers, presents of various fruits. It was conventional for the Mughal Emperors as well to confer presents of fruits on his sons and officers. The various fruits mentioned in this connection in the Jaipur Newsletters are :

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pomegranates,³⁹⁵ mangoes,³⁹⁶ pears,³⁹⁷ grapes,³⁹⁸ pineapples,³⁹⁹ water-melons,⁴⁰⁰ coconut,⁴⁰¹ apples,⁴⁰² bananas,⁴⁰³ dried grapes,⁴⁰⁴ almonds⁴⁰⁵ and pistachios.⁴⁰⁶

Kishmish and mangoes were sent as presents by Aurangzeb to the ambassador of Transoxiana on 28th August, 1699.⁴⁰⁷ One jackfruit weighing one maund and also mangoes, received from Mohammad Rabi', *Kotwal* of Hyderabad, had been sent earlier to the same ambassador on 21st July, 1699.⁴⁰⁸

Drinks

Water has been the most popular common drink in India. For drinking water people depended on rivers, wells, tanks and pools. Water agreed with the system more than liquor.⁴⁰⁹ In Goa they drank water with a copper can having a spout and let the water fall into their mouth in such a manner that not a drop touched their lips.⁴¹⁰ In *Mālābār*, people, while drinking water, never touched their lips with it, but poured it from above into the mouth.⁴¹¹

The water of the Ganges was regarded not only as sacred, but useful. One pint of this water weighed an ounce less than any other in India.⁴¹² A quart of it 'was lighter by much than any other water.'⁴¹³ According to the testimony of Palsaert, the Ganges water had one remarkable quality. It 'never stinks, and no worms appear in it, even if it is kept over 100 years.'⁴¹⁴ About 30 years later (1660 A.D.) Baldaeus wrote : 'The Mahometans are, to this day, not free from that superstition; the water of the Ganges being sold among them in bottles at very good price, as we do our spaw waters, and they pay a considerable custom for it.'⁴¹⁵ It was so because the Ganges water was supposed never to go bad.⁴¹⁶

The Mughal Emperors always had great preference for the Ganges water. Akbar's food was cooked in this water.⁴¹⁷

It was brought to the palace by water-carriers in *bahangis* in fine copper jars, excellently tinned on the inside and properly sealed.⁴¹⁸ We learn from the Jaipur Newsletters that the Ganges water was always carried along with the royal camp for the use of Aurangzeb.⁴¹⁹

There were large number of wells, dug particularly for irrigation purpose.⁴²⁰ The wells for drinking water were fed upon springs and cost much for their stone work.⁴²¹ Water was drawn from the wells in buckets and

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jars and carried home by women. In case the distance was great, it was carried on oxen's or buffaloes' backs.⁴²²

Drinking water was also taken from pools and tanks. Some of the tanks were more than a mile in compass, made round or square, having fair stone walls. Inside there used to be steps of 'well squared stone'.⁴²³

Ovington found the people of Surat filling their tankees with rain water for use as drinking water.⁴²⁴

Ice

The Mughal Emperors tried to procure ice for cooling the drinking water. Ice was brought to Delhi from Nahan and to Lahore from the hills down the Ravi.⁴²⁵

On 12th November, 1706, Prince Mohammad Ā'zam Shāh sent ice to Aurangzeb who ordered it to be sent to Khwāja Hoshmand Khān through Prince Kām Baksh.⁴²⁶

Sherbet was a delicious drink in India and was served to the guests at banquets.⁴²⁷

Milk

Milk has been an important item of diet of the Indian people. As there was abundance of cattle in the country, there was no dearth of milk and ghee here. Although the Muslims and Christians used beef,⁴²⁸ yet the Mughals were conscious of the utility of cows and oxen. If cow provided milk and butter, the oxen were absolutely essential for ploughing and also for transport. They were the veritable trucks of the middle ages.⁴²⁹

There are frequent references to the use of milk and milk products in the Hindi literature of the 16th and 17th centuries. Milk was a staple diet which was usually boiled before consumption 'two or three quarters into one'.⁴³⁰ Milk was also known as *goras*.⁴³¹

In Goa the milk of buffaloes and goats was largely used and sold in the streets.⁴³²

Milk was available at very cheap rates in the country.⁴³³

As early marriage was customary in the country, the parents thought it essential to feed the young married persons on milk diet to enable them to attain early maturity as husband and wife.⁴³⁴

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Milk was taken mixed with sugar candy⁴³⁵ or sugar.

There was plenty of butter-milk available and used in the country.⁴³⁶

Tea

Tea was a popular drink in the 17th century in India. Tea and coffee were exceedingly favourite with the Hindus.⁴³⁷ The common people took 'cha' as tea was known then.⁴³⁸

In November, 1650, three Dutch ships landed at Surat from Batavia with 20 maunds of 'chaw', i.e. tea (Chinese *chha*). Some years before, Mandelslo had noted that the beverage was used in the English Factory at Surat.⁴³⁹

In March, 1656, ships arrived from Ceylon laden with many commodities including 'chaw'.⁴⁴⁰

Tea had appeared in London in about 1658 and two years later a tax of 8d. per gallon was levied on it.⁴⁴¹

An English factor, Sheldon, serving in the Bengal Agency, wrote to another factor in September, 1659, to procure for him 'chaw' at any price. He needed the herb for his uncle, Dr. Sheldon, in England 'whom somebody hath persuaded to study the divinity of that herbe, leafe, or what else it is.....'⁴⁴²

Ovington found in 1689 that tea was a common drink with all the inhabitants of India and the Europeans living here. The Dutch had such great preference for tea that they kept the pot boiling for ever. Although living in a hot climate in India, the English discovered this beverage to be 'very convenient for our health, and agreeable to the Habits of our Bodies'. This hot drink kept the pores of the body open and protected it against fevers.

Ovington was of the view that tea, mixed with some hot spices, was an excellent and effective antidote against diseases. People added to it sugar candy or conserved lemons. The frequent use of this 'Innocent Tea' was responsible for the absence in India of many diseases like gout, stone, agnes, rheumatism and catarhs. Ovington makes us believe that the Chinese, among whom tea grew, took abundance of this drink, and, consequently, were very 'plump and in very good likeing'.

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He learnt from a physician who had been to China that tea was of three kinds, Bohe, Singli and Bing. The leaf is first green, but is made crisp and dry by frying it in a pan. To prevent tea from being spoiled, it was kept in enclosed utensils of pewter.⁴⁴³ Returning to England, Ovington did much to popularize tea and published his essay on it in 1699.⁴⁴⁴

Careful packing of tea was very important and special instructions regarding this were given.⁴⁴⁵

Coffee

Coffee, called *qahava* in Arabia, was brought from Abyssinia to Yemen in the 15th century by Sheikh Shahab-ud-din Dhabani.⁴⁴⁶ Yemen was a small village, but the seaport in the city Celebee was important.^{446a} The coffee seed was grown in Mocha and adjacent places⁴⁴⁷ and was the only 'commodity of repute' in the port of Mocha.⁴⁴⁸ From there it was exported to Turkey and Persia and India.⁴⁴⁹ Indian ships brought coffee berries on their return from Aden.⁴⁵⁰ The seeds cost in Mocha 10 or 11 *Mahmūdis* per maund and husk cost about 5 or 6 *Mahmūdis* per maund for seed and 8 or 9 *Mahmūdis* per maund for husks. Both the seed and the husk were used in preparing the coffee, 'though the one is better and dearer than the other'.⁴⁵¹

Terry has recorded that many persons who did not drink wine on religious grounds, took coffee which was 'more healthful then pleasant'. This 'black seed boyled in water' was 'very good to help digestion to quicken the spirits, and clense the blood'.⁴⁵²

Terry was in India from 1616 to 1619 and Ovington in 1689. The latter wrote : The Hindus 'took liberal Draughts of tea and coffee to revive their wasted Spirits and part of the day'.⁴⁵³ The Muslims were equally fond of it.⁴⁵⁴

Coffee reached England in the 17th century.⁴⁵⁵

It became an important commodity of trade for the East India Company, as is evident from many references in the English Factories in India.⁴⁵⁶ In 1663, the Company in London ordered the Surat Agency to supply 20 tons of coffee. The latter entered into a contract with an Indian merchant going to Mokha to provide them with coffee along with

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other commodities. Only in this way could the Surat Agency meet the demand at home.⁴⁵⁷

Occasionally coffee became scarce in places like Surat.⁴⁵⁸

Coffee was sent from India to England, although the coffee seeds from Turkey were given preference there.⁴⁵⁹

In 1700 A.D., 40,000 bales of coffee were exported from Jedda.⁴⁶⁰

Wine

Wine-drinking was a common feature in Mughal India. The Mughals, with very few exceptions, were fond of liquor. Babur and Humayun were regular addicts to it. Akbar enjoyed drinking in the company of select persons.⁴⁶¹ Jahangir was a hard drinker who could at one time take as many as twenty cups of double-distilled wine.⁴⁶²

The same was true of the Mughal nobility.⁴⁶³ The affluent people took alcoholic liquor habitually. The Dutch factor, Francisco Palsart, resided in Agra for seven years and had an intimate knowledge of the life of the people. Writing about the upper strata of Muslim society in the third decade of the seventeenth century, he remarks that the rich persons enjoyed drinking in the cool of the evening. Their womenfolk, who had also imbibed the habit from their husbands, shared the bottle with them. He observes that drinking had become quite common during the last years of Jahangir's reign. 'The husband sits like a golden cock among golden hens until midnight, or until passion or drink, sends him to bed.'⁴⁶⁴

In a letter written in January 1616 to the East India Company from the royal camp at Ajmer, the English Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, has recorded :

'There is nothing more welcome here nor ever I saw men so enamoured of drink as both the King and Prince are of red wine, whereof the Governor of Surat sent up some pottle. Ever since the king has solicitude for more, I think four or five handsome cases of that wine will be more welcome than the richest jewel in cheapside.'⁴⁶⁵

In another letter, written on 11th October, 1617, from Jahangir's camp at Mandu, Thomas Roe advised the Surat factors to sell the entire stock of wine lying with them, 'for it sours by our long passage'. The English Ambassador asked them to sell the whole quantity to Asaf Khan who had promised to buy it.⁴⁶⁶

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About a month later (8th November), he urged upon them the necessity of disposing of the stock in their possession, failing which they were required to send the same to him at the royal camp (Mandu). 'I make no question that Court will vent it all, if it were here now, at too dear rates.'⁴⁶⁷

If Jahangir was not hesitant in accepting the gift of special English wine from the English Ambassador, he returned the obligation by providing Roe with some rare wine from his own stock. At Mandu the Emperor gave him 'fattest hog that I ever saw, which came from Goa, and five bottles of Spanish wine, with orders to send for more at my pleasure'.⁴⁶⁸

Jahangir has himself recorded the death of some of his high officers from excessive drinking. Maha Singh died in 1617,⁴⁶⁹ Dayanant Khan in 1618⁴⁷⁰ and Raja Bhao Singh in 1621.⁴⁷¹ Khan Jahan Lodi, on whom the Emperor had conferred the title of 'Farzand', had become 'ill from the madness of wine'. The vice threatened his life to such an extent that he was compelled to reform his habits.⁴⁷² In 1618, the *kotwal* of Surat and one of his servants drank to excess along with two English servants of the East India Company. Kotwal's servants died as a result of too much drinking.⁴⁷³

Although Shahjahan had ordered the prohibition of the sale, public or private, of wine, the royal princes and the nobility continued indulging in the vice. Shuja' was an addict to it.⁴⁷⁴ Dara formed no exception.⁴⁷⁵ Even Princess Jahanara was exceedingly fond of wine imported from Persia, Kabul and Kashmir.⁴⁷⁶ The Governor and high officials of Surat were regular victims of the vice. They often 'importuned' the English merchants of the Company to supply them English wine, 'which we cannot refuse'.⁴⁷⁷ In December, 1650, the English factors were obliged to present two pipes of wine to the Governor of Gujarat and his officers.⁴⁷⁸

Aurangzeb made strict rules against the manufacture, sale and consumption of wine. Under him 'strong drink' became 'more forbid' ('according to the Rules of their Religion').⁴⁷⁹ Yet there was no improvement in the situation. While trying to enforce prohibition, the Censor of Public Morals had to encounter opposition from the ministers themselves who 'loved to be drunk'.⁴⁸⁰ The use of strong drink was permitted only to the Christians. A contemporary European traveller attributes this to the fact that the 'Moors in drinking never so small a quantity, became cruel, blood-minded'.⁴⁸¹

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Aurangzeb's sons like Mohammad Ā'zam⁴⁸² and Shah 'Ālam⁴⁸³ and the latter's sons⁴⁸⁴ were fond of liquor. Officers formed no exception. On one occasion twelve of them were reported to have enjoyed a drinking carousal in the company of women in the Dilkusha Garden at Lahore.⁴⁸⁵ Mansabdars⁴⁸⁶ and army commandants⁴⁸⁷ were addicts to the vice. Once a whole army was found guilty of the offence.⁴⁸⁸

As regards the prevalence of the evil among the Muslim families, we have the evidence of Fryer who left India in 1681 and of Ovington who visited Surat in 1689. According to the former, the Muslims did not drink publicly, but privately they were 'good fellows' and were not content with small glasses as the English did. They took *araq* and brandy out of a bottle till they were 'well warmed.'⁴⁸⁹ Ovington confirms this. Despite the prohibition, he found men of position and fortune positively 'licentious'. Many of them mixed *dhatūra* and water in it and drank it to excess 'without any privacy or fear'. The Europeans living in Surat also enjoyed *araq* wine.⁴⁹⁰ The people of Malabar were fond of this drink.⁴⁹¹

Muslim women in Golconda were particularly fond of wine from palm trees.⁴⁹²

The Brahmins barring a few exceptions refrained from taking wine or any strong drinks as a rule.⁴⁹³ The majority of the Rajputs, however, had no objection to the use of alcohol.⁴⁹⁴ According to William Hedges, a few among the Rajputs and Brahmins 'forbear wine, for those that no Flesh will Gulch abundance of strong drink'.⁴⁹⁵ The Banias followed into the footsteps of the Brahmins and usually avoided the consumption of liquor.⁴⁹⁶ The Khattris observed no hard and fast rules about this matter; some took wine and others avoided it.⁴⁹⁷ The 'Coolies', the 'lowest class in India, made no Distinction' of 'Meats and Drinks'.⁴⁹⁸

There was a considerable variety of wines available in India. *Achhi* was prepared from bread and rice, and also taken mixed with *bhang*.⁴⁹⁹ In order to make a very strong liquor from rice, they soaked the rice in husk in large jars for three or four days until it was fermented and decomposed partially and subsequently boiled down over fire several times.⁵⁰⁰

Jagre, a more viscous liquor than the above, was made from a 'coarse brown (or almost black) sugar from the sap of various plants'.⁵⁰¹

Tari was taken from coconut trees.⁵⁰² Between the top of the

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coconut trees and the leaves come forth abundance of young sprigs, which, when cut, yield a liquor of white colour and sweet and delicious taste. It was also drawn from the palm trees. They bored a hole in the tree from 'whence with the help of a pipe, they drew a liquor not unlike *tari*.⁵⁰³ *Tari* was as strong as any European wine.⁵⁰⁴

Tari or toddy was a pleasant liquor 'issuing from a songie tree', where they made 'incisions, under which they had small earthen pots to preserve the influence'. 'It is pleasing to taste as any white wine, if drunk betimes in the morning', 'unwholesome in the hot day', 'and Piercing medicinal drink, if taken early in the morning'.⁵⁰⁵

According to De Laet, the neighbouring districts of Broach abounded in palm trees of the forest variety, from which people obtained a certain liquor which they called *tari*, *toddy*, and *sura*.⁵⁰⁶

Bhandaris were the people who earned their living by distilling liquor from the coconut palm.⁵⁰⁷

They took liquor from the *Mahua* trees as well.⁵⁰⁸ There is mention of a liquor known as *Mahunda* or *Mhowra* which was a distilled spirit. The East India Company had a monopoly in it.⁵⁰⁹ Perhaps it was the same as the *Mahua* wine. Kakarwad in Malwa was famous for the production of this wine.⁵¹⁰

The most popular Indian drink much in common use in the country and abroad was known as *araq*. This aqua vitae or Brandy' was made out of *tari* by repeated distillation and fermentation.⁵¹¹ It was also prepared when *sura* (from coconut tree) was distilled and made into an excellent aqua vitae, 'the finest kind of distillation'. It was called 'uraca' and was regarded as a 'verie good wine'. It was 'the wine of India'. They had no 'other wine' as good as this. Although it was hot and strong, the Indians drank it like water. There was a great traffic in this wine with Goa, Malacca, China and other places.⁵¹²

The Englishmen serving in the East were particularly fond of *araq*.⁵¹³ They preferred to keep ample quantity in store of this wine which was despatched in their ships bound for different places.⁵¹⁴ When the factors serving in the East Indies received 'butts of rack' or 'hogheads of rack' they could hardly conceal their happiness as is clear from the letters preserved in the records of the East India Company.⁵¹⁵ When the ships belonging to the East India Company left for their destination, they were

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always stored with rich supplies of this wine from India.⁵¹⁶ The Company often ordered its factors going to Malabar to buy a number of 'butts of arack'.⁵¹⁷ The Company ordered the Surat factors in 1663 to send a butt of *araq* on every ship bound for St. Helena.⁵¹⁸ It could even be purchased at Goa 'in readiness for the arrival of shipping'.⁵¹⁹ Governor Pitt once sent 'three dozen Goa Arak' to Sir Henry Johnson in England.⁵²⁰

The Dutch factors serving in the East were also enamoured of this Indian wine. A factor wrote to the Dutch Factory in the beginning of 1617 that the Dutch employed in Achin were 'debauched persons which study more in the Arrack pot than to the Company's service'.⁵²¹

The King of Achin once gave the English and the Dutch merchants a feast with 'abundance of victuals and *arak*'.⁵²²

Araq punch was a popular drink sold in the bazars of Surat⁵²³ and even during Aurangzeb's reign.⁵²⁴ The English at Rajmahal took the 'clearest punch' wine 'having no better liquor'.⁵²⁵

At one time the Mughal general Mir Jumla entertained the European traveller Glanius and his companions to *araq* wine in his tent in Bengal. They drank the liquor out of a wooden pot. The wine was so strong that 'we soon felt effects of it, making us jolly, and confident with the General'. Rather it made them quite 'bold'.⁵²⁶

Wines prepared at Agra were quite popular.⁵²⁷

Wines from Shiraz were much in demand at Surat⁵²⁸ and Burhanpur.⁵²⁹ It cost about four or five rupees per bottle.⁵³⁰ The Englishmen residing in India liked Persian wine.⁵³¹

Wines were imported from Europe also. Jahangir and his nobles had a weakness for the English red wine.⁵³² English beers were specially liked at Surat although they sold at exorbitant rates.⁵³³ Grape wine was a common variety mostly imported from Portugal.⁵³⁴ Wines were imported from France,⁵³⁵ England,⁵³⁶ Holland,⁵³⁷ Germany⁵³⁸ and Spain,⁵³⁹ and from the Canary Islands.⁵⁴⁰

Mum was a special brand of beer brewed in Brunswick, a large stock of which was sent by the Company to India. The Surat factors complained against mum, it being a 'sleepy, bitter, physicall drink, and not agreeing with our constitution in this country'.⁵⁴¹ Mum was said to be improved by a sea voyage. The English factors at Madras used to get their supply of this beer from England.⁵⁴²

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Burnt wine was used as a medicine.⁵⁴³

The use of wine finds mention in the contemporary Hindi literature of the 16th and 17th centuries. Hindi poets like Sur Das⁵⁴⁴ and Nanda Das⁵⁴⁵, Tan Sen⁵⁴⁶ and Parmananda Das,⁵⁴⁷ Rahim⁵⁴⁸ and Bihari Das⁵⁴⁹ and Vrinda⁵⁵⁰ have referred to it. Hindi words for wine were *sura* and *madira*.⁵⁵¹ The woman keeping a wine shop was known as *kalali* or *kalhi*.⁵⁵²

Opium

Opium, taken from *post*, was a black, bitter extract.⁵⁵³ According to the Dutch traveller Linschoten, opium came from Egypt and Aden and was available in Cambay and the Deccan.⁵⁵⁴ It was found in 'great abundance' in Surat in the beginning of the 17th century. A whitish sort of opium saleable in the city was brought from Misr or Egypt.⁵⁵⁵ In addition to the Misri opium, the other available variety was known as Malawi.⁵⁵⁶

The persons addict to opium could not survive if they were deprived of it for four or five days.⁵⁵⁷ The usual daily dose was a small pill of 30 grains.⁵⁵⁸ Some took a pill once in two or three days.⁵⁵⁹ According to Vrinda, a Hindi poet of Akbar's time, an opium-eater would not even care for sugar candy in preference to it.⁵⁶⁰

Manrique has observed that opium was used by the 'Orientals to assist in the gratification of lust and lewdness, by increasing their sexual power'.⁵⁶¹ Linschoten recorded that they 'use it much for lecherie', though its continuous consumption proved harmful in the long run, 'for drieth it and wholly cooleth mans nature that useth it'.⁵⁶²

Opium was mostly used by the labourers to avoid the tedium of hard work.⁵⁶³ It was particularly taken by those who had to travel long distances or undertake rigorous journeys.⁵⁶⁴ The *harkaras* or messengers who carried letters over long distances covering 25 or 30 *kos* a day, took large quantities of opium in order to do away with the fatigue of a long journey.⁵⁶⁵ The Malabar people were particularly fond of it and got it from Cambay in large quantities.⁵⁶⁶ They got it from the Dutch in exchange for the pepper supplied by them from the East Indies.⁵⁶⁷ They used it 'very greedily' and sometimes took it mixed with *araq* or wine. They would like to take it before an engagement with the enemy as it blurred their memory and filled them with vigour and energy.⁵⁶⁸ Palsaert thought the same of the Rajputs who were excellent soldiers 'because the quantity of opium they eat excites them'.⁵⁶⁹

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The English prosecuted a rich trade in opium and exported large quantities of the commodity from Surat to Persia, Arabia, England and other countries.⁵⁷⁰ Later on, the East India Company had a monopoly in the opium trade.⁵⁷¹ The Dutch also carried on a flourishing trade in it and enjoyed monopoly on the Malabar Coast.⁵⁷² These commercial activities in the opium trade were carried on by these foreigners in Aurangzeb's period and hence his restraint on the use and sale of opium may not have been much effective.⁵⁷³

Although opium was available in abundance in the country, its excessive use by the people and its export by the foreign companies resulted in the increase in its price. It sold in Surat in 1609 from 80 to 120 *mahmudis* per maund.⁵⁷⁴ The Misri or Egyptian opium sold at 16 *mahmudis* per seer.⁵⁷⁵

Bhang

Bhang is derived from the Sanskrit word *bhāṅg*.^{575a} It was made of the dried leaves of hemp.⁵⁷⁶ According to Alexander Hamilton, it was made of a seed 'like Hempseed'.⁵⁷⁷ The dried leaves and small stalks of hemp used to cause intoxication, either by smoking or when eaten mixed up into a sweetmeat called *ma'ajoon*.⁵⁷⁸ To get intoxicated, they mixed it with areca nut, mace and nutmegs. The rich mixed it with cloves, camphor, amber and musk. The Indians, particularly the slaves, made a frequent use of it and even some Portuguese enjoyed the drink.⁵⁷⁹ Careri found the south Indians drinking the juice of *bhang*. They kept it in glass bottles of violet colour.⁵⁸⁰

The use of *bhang* provided a little comfort to melancholy persons. It made its consumers undertake any work without fatigue and kept them laughing and playing.⁵⁸¹ It affected the heads of those who drank it.⁵⁸² The Indians used the seeds and leaves of *bhang* after being 'stamped' to increase their appetite or 'to provoke lust'.⁵⁸³ The use of *bhang* and *post* produced in phlegmatic persons a deep sleep, laughter and cheerfulness, driving all thoughts of a depressing nature.⁵⁸⁴ The persons who used *bhang* became stupefied.⁵⁸⁵

Bowery and eight or ten of his English friends underwent an interesting experience when they tried their pint of *bhang* in Bengal. Every one of them felt the effects of the drink. One of them sat down on the floor and spent all the afternoon weeping bitterly. The other, terrified with fear, did run his head into a great Mortavan (martaban) Jarr, and continued

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that posture 4 hours or more, 4 or 5 of the number lay upon the carpets highly Complimenting each other in High termes, each man fancying himselfe no less than an Emperour. One was quarrelsome and fougat with one of the wooden Pillars of the porch, untill he had left himself little Skin upon the knuckles of his fingers. My Selfe and one Sat sweatinge for the Space of 3 hours in Exceedinge measure'. Prudently 'we..... made fast all dores and Windows, that none of us might runne out into the Street, or any person come in to behold any of our humours thereby to laugh at us'.⁵⁸⁶

In 1609, Jahangir forbade the use of *bhang*.⁵⁸⁷ Later on, Aurangzeb tried to control its use and sale.⁵⁸⁸

There is mention of *bhang* in Hindi literature and the poet Vrinda has referred to its intoxicating effects.

Post

The *post* was well mixed up in water until a black bitter extract was formed. This solution enormously increased sexual power, though it destroyed natural strength and after two or three years rendered the person using it absolutely impotent and unfit for any kind of activity.⁵⁸⁹

Dhatura

Dhatura was a common herb and grew in every field. The leaf is sharp at the end. From the flower or blossom of this plant grew a bud, like that of poppy, containing small kernels or seeds resembling those of melon. The seeds, when ground, and mixed with meat, water or wine, created strange sensations in the persons who ate or drank the composition. It made him laugh without any understanding or induced him to sleep. According to Linschoten, when the Indian and the Portugese women wanted to deceive their husbands and were 'disposed to be merrie with their secret lovers, they give it him (husband), and goe in his presence and performe their lecherie together.....the man not knowing anything thereof, but sitteth with eyes open, no doing or saying anything, but laugh and grin like a foole.' The slaves gave this herb to their masters and mistresses in order to rob them. *Dhatura*, taken in extra dose, was poisonous and dangerous to the life of the consumer. Although this herb grew in all places in abundance, it was 'forbidden to be gathered'.⁵⁹⁰

It was a common practice for the Mughal Emperors to order the

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administration of this poisonous drug to the Princes of the royal blood and other political prisoners whom they kept in detention.' It stupefied the senses of the victims and ended in their slow death. The Hindi poets have made references to this drink.⁵⁹¹

Tobacco

Tobacco was introduced in India by the Portugese at the close of Akbar's reign. The Indians and Muslims in particular, took to the habit and began to enjoy smoking tobacco in *huggas* having a cane.⁵⁹²

Manucci saw the Burmese ambassadors smoking tobacco through a long cane.⁵⁹³

Smoking seems to have become common in the beginning of the 16th century in India. In October, 1613, William Bidulph, an English factor, wrote to the East India Company that he had acquired the services of one Robert Clarkson who had become skilled in 'making up of tobacco'. He was of the opinion that at Surat there was 'great quantity' of tobacco 'to be had on easy rate and as near as I can value it will cost here 12d per pound all charges clear abroad'. He was hopeful that it would prove a 'good commodity for England if the tediousness of the voyage do not spil it'.⁵⁹⁴

Sir Thomas Roe had written to Pepwell at Surat to purchase for him a supply of tobacco, 'sweet, but not very strong, some 4 five pound, not exceeding 12s. the pound'.⁵⁹⁵

Jahangir regarded tobacco-smoking as an evil because of its harmful effects. He was convinced that the consumption of tobacco created 'disturbance' in 'most temperaments and constitutions'. Accordingly, he ordered in 1617 that 'no one should smoke it (literally⁵⁹⁶ draw it)'. He had perhaps taken the cue from the Persian ruler Shah Abbas who had already issued strict orders against the smoking of tobacco.⁵⁹⁷

Jahangir perhaps was unaware of the fact that four years earlier, the Japanese Emperor had ordered in his country the complete prohibition of tobacco and the apprehension of about 150 persons for carrying on trade in the commodity.⁵⁹⁸

Jahangir's order had failed in its objective. Rather a flourishing trade, both internal and external, developed in tobacco in the country. That, naturally, was consequent upon its increasing use. Twenty-two years after Jahangir's order of prohibition

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Manrique was obliged to part with some money to enable the servants of kotwali at Thatta to smoke tobacco. He had been taken there on some suspicion.⁶⁹⁹ The English Factory records bear testimony to the growing trade in tobacco immediately after the order of 1617 referred to above.⁶⁰⁰ Tobacco began to be grown in different parts of the country. From places like Masulipatam⁶⁰¹ it was taken to Surat and from there shipped to Gombroon,⁶⁰² Mokha,⁶⁰³ Persia⁶⁰⁴ and other ports of the Red Sea⁶⁰⁵ and also to England.⁶⁰⁶

Trade in tobacco being very profitable, the English merchants serving in the East India Company, began to indulge in it on their own. In order to discourage this increasing private trade, the President of the Company at Surat was obliged to issue orders that in no case 'should tobacco be allowed to pester and fill up the ships'.⁶⁰⁷

In Bombay the English had a monopoly of trade in tobacco and gave the contract to Indians on profit.⁶⁰⁸ The Bombay Presidency used to derive ample revenue from the cultivation of and monopoly in tobacco.⁶⁰⁹

The price of tobacco in 1619 was four *mahmudis* and 18 pice per maund.⁶¹⁰

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According to De Laet, it was made of peas (mung) and rice and eaten hot in the evening with butter poured over it. (De Laet, p. 89). Mandelslo writes : The made 'kitsery' of beans pounded and rice which they boiled together in water till the water was consumed and to this they added a little melted butter. (Mandelslo, p. 64).
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62. Sur Sagar, 10-1213;
Parmananda Das, 111-113 etc.
63. De Laet, p. 86.
64. Coverte, p.157.
65. A Voyage to Surat, pp.184-85.
66. Sur Sagar, 10-183; 211-212; 810; Chaturbhujdas, 140; Parmananda Das, 608;
611; Govinda Das, 232.
67. Parmananda Das, 616.
68. The following were the sweets and fruits served : milk; butter, curd, *amrit pakori, jalebi, khurma, ghujja, shakarpara, laddu, malpura, andarasa, khajuri*; Sur Sagar 10-183; *khari*; *chironji*; raisins; almonds; pistachio; copra; banana; mango, apricot; cashewnuts. Sur Sagar: 10-211; 212; 810. water-melon; dry date; *pheni*; etc. Ibid. Also Sur Sagar, 801; 826; 829-30; 1428.
69. Sur Sagar, 10-1213.
70. The items included : kachauri; luchai; lapsi; butter khichhri; milk; ghee; honey; dry fruits; among vegetables were turai; sag; chulai; bathua; karela; ratalu; along with papar-vadi, lemon, ginger and pickles; also mung pulse and grams. Sur Sagar-1213; Parmananda Das, 111-113.
71. Sur Sagar, 1-244; 10-1083; 1085 1089; Vyasa, 1/709; Parmananda Das, 642-644; Kumbhan Das, 175.
72. Sur Sagar, 10-456;
73. Ibid. 1083; 844; Parmananda das, 643.
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77. They were : besanpuri; sukhpuri; luchai; khir; ghee; gindori; tingari; gondak; ilaichi pak; pheni; andarasa; lapsi; pethapak; jalebi; gujha; amriti; khari; raisin; copra; almonds; chirari—Sur Sagar, 10-226; 227; 396.
Among the vegetables were : chulai; among pulses were : mung; mash; lentil and rice.
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THE BALASORE TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Pramod Kumar Sangar

Balasore was a district town in Orissa. It was bordered on the north by Midnapure district and the tributary state of Morbhang, on the east by the Bay of Bengal and on the south by the Cuttock district. Balasore derived its name from Bala-Ishwara meaning 'The Young Lord' or 'The Lord of Strength'.¹

The English East India Company had established factories at Masulipatam in 1611, at Surat in 1612, at Balasore in 1633, and at Hugli in 1651. The small factories in Orissa acted as spring-boards from where the English succeeded in leaping into Bengal.²

The growing scarcity of cotton goods at Masulipatam as a result of the devastating famine of 1630-32, hastened the process of opening of new centres of trade and the advance of the English from the East Coast upto the Bay of Bengal.³

Ralph Cartwright, the leader of the expedition, despatched by John Norris, the English Agent at Metchchlipatam, was granted freedom of trade in May 1633 by the Mughal governor Aga Zaman Khan. Other members of the team, Cartwright and Thomas Cooley, came from Cuttock to Hariharpur and started building factories there.⁴

The importance of Balasore increased after the humiliating defeat of the Portugese at the hands of the Mughals who drove them from Hijli. This resulted in the decline of the trade at Pipli. The Danes and the English tried collectively to establish their factories by 1633. The Portugese influence and dominance still remained there as they supplied to the other countries the famous Herba or Tassar cloth which was a great speciality of Balasore.⁵

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Balasore was an important centre for the production of and trade in cloth. The varieties of textiles found there included costly samanoes, dimities, mulmuls, silken and cotton *rūmāls* and silken bedsheets. Cotton yarn was also exported from Balasore.⁶

The contemporary English traveller Peter Mundy has furnished a list of the following cotton goods of Balasore available at Patna in the thirties of the 17th century :

1. Khasas.
2. Ambarties striped with white silk.
3. Hammam, a thick stout cloth used for wrappers.⁷

Another English traveller, Thomas Bowery, who was also in India at that time found gingham and sanu varieties of cloth at Balasore, in addition to the cotton yarn.⁸

The English *factor* Walter Clavell recorded in 1676 that the best quality of tassar or harba cloth was procurable at Balasore. Other varieties of cotton fabrics, like gingham, herba taftas and lungis, manufactured in the neighbourhood, were easily brought to Balasore.⁹ The English discovered that their broadcloth, imported from England for sale in India, proved inferior to the varieties of textiles available at Balasore and in the surrounding areas. They felt obliged to send the same to Patna for sale there.¹⁰

Saltpetre was another important commodity available at Balasore.¹¹ It was used as an ingredient for gunpowder. There was a keen competition among the various European merchant companies for its monopoly at Balasore.¹² The English factors, Gurney and Greenhill, informed the Company in a letter written in 1652 that large quantities of the commodity could be obtained from Balasore and Hugli. However, they found the process of its refinement in the copper pans rather very expensive as 200 out of 600 such pans were damaged in the process. They felt obliged, therefore, to send saltpetre in its raw form.¹³ The English despatched the ship '*Loyalty*' to England with a rich load of saltpetre on February 21, 1651.¹⁴

The Dutch East India Company was also interested in the trade of saltpetre. They sent in the same year 2,000 tons of the commodity purchased from Balasore.¹⁵

THE BALASORE TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Balasore was a great commercial centre in the 17th century. About twenty-six foreign ships were recorded to have touched the port in 1642.¹⁶

• In 1642, the English bartered or sold at Balasore broad cloth, lead, knives and sword blades. As broad cloth was not much in demand there, it had to be sent to Patna for sale there.¹⁷

In 1637, an English vessel '*Globe*' sailed from Balasore carrying 50 suckles of cloves valuing six golden pagoda per mound.¹⁸

There was a regular and continuous trade between Balasore and Metchchlipatam in the 17th century. Two ships '*Advice*' and '*Encounter*', with rich cargos of the goods purchased at the latter place, sailed from there for Balasore on November 25, 1637.¹⁹

Balasore had trade relations with Persia as well. From the early English records it is clear that ships which touched the port, carried from there merchandise consisting mostly of saltpetre, taftas, raw silk, sanus, gingham and cotton yarn.²⁰

Manner of Trade

Strynsham Master, the President of the East India Company in the Bay and the Coast, has left a detailed account of the manner of carrying of trade at Balasore in 1676.²¹

Measures for the expansion of trade were undertaken vigorously at the time of Master's visit for the purpose of inquiring into the prevailing state of affairs at the Balasore factory. Walter Clavell suggested that for trading operations the working of the factory should be based on the pattern of that of Qasimbazar. It consisted of giving advances to weavers early in the season in order to facilitate the provision of goods before the arrival of ships from England and sending competent persons to outlying weaving areas for report on the nature of trade there. It was in the light of such a report that the question of the improvement of trade could be taken up.²²

Master has given an account of how the factory at Hugli was chosen as the seat of the Chief and Council in the Bay in preference to that of Balasore for loading and unloading of all the Europe-bound goods. It was deemed advisable that the Chief along with the Council should go every year to Balasore in order to expedite the despatch of ships to England.²³

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The English started the practice of paying advances to the merchants and brokers for the supply of local products, after taking proper steps for the security of the goods. The latter became bound to supply the products within stipulated time exclusively to the English. Master came to Balasore, called all the influential merchants and brokers like Khem Chand 'Chem Cham' Raja Ram, Kalyan Ray and Sagar Shah, and entered into direct engagement with them. The merchants undertook to deliver the goods prior to the shipping season or the westward monsoons. The English entered into agreements also with the weavers, artisans and manu actureres and gave them money in advance.²⁴

Sometime as occasion required the English factors entered into direct agreements with the local merchants.²⁵

Balasore as a Sea Port

Balasore was an important ship-building and ship-repairing centre with suitable dockyards. It developed further after the advent of the English.²⁶

In 1634, the governor of Balasore sold a small half finished vessel of 100 tons to the East India Company. The English later on completed its construction, christened it *Thomas* and loaded it with commodities for despatch to the Bay.²⁷

Four years later, the Masulipatam factors sent Thomas Godfrey, Master of the *Coaster* to proceed to Balasore for refitting the *Thomas*.²⁸

Another ship was ordered to proceed to Balasore for refitting and was later to halt at Hariharpore for filling in the ration.²⁹

In 1651, Caprain Durson repaired his damaged ship *Loyalty* at Balasore. It was bound for Gombroon in Persia.³⁰

The economic importance of Balasore was for its being a source of supply of cotton manufactures for export purposes.³¹

Secondly, it was a market for the sale of goods imported from Europe. It was also a spring-board between Bengal and Orissa. Last but not the least it was an important ship-building centre as timber and other accessories were available in plenty there.

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Book Review

INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY TODAY by H. D. Sankalia.
Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, 1969. 204 pages II
text figures, 76 plates. Price Rs. 150.

"The discovery and publication of all the existing remains of architecture and sculpture, with coins and inscriptions, would throw more light on the ancient history of India, both public and domestic, than the printing of all the rubbish contained in the 18 Puranas". These were the words of General Alexander Cunningham penned in 1848 apparently directed at the traditional indologists who at that time constituted the most powerful intellectual group in and outside the government, academic institutions and elite societies. In 1861 when the Department of Archaeology (the present Archaeological Survey of India) was created under his charge, Cunningham not only directed its entire resources towards discovery, recording and preservation of ancient monuments, coins and epigraphs till then condemned to decay and destruction, but also vigorously pursued a policy that was meant to be eloquent enough in pointing out to his detractors the difference between an antiquary and an archaeologist. Despite his skepticism for the sacred books of the Hindus—the Puranas, as reliable sources of history which is not wholly unfounded, the stupendous volume of work Cunningham had put forth during his tenure crowned by the phenomenal discovery he made at Harappa, shows how zealously he endeavoured to drive-in the point he made out in 1848.

Archaeology in India, since that time, till today was passed through many vicissitudes. In pace with the ever expanding horizons of human knowledge its aims, objectives and scope have undergone several changes both in policy as well as in operational levels. When Mortimer Wheeler assumed the charge of the Department in 1944 he viewed the archaeological activities in India till that time to have been quite lop-sided due to its exaggerated attention given to the monuments in Cunningham's tradition. Therefore, a balanced planning was initiated encompassing all spheres of archaeological work in which training future archaeologists in the principles and techniques of the discipline was given a significant role to

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play. As an youngman of impressionable age Sankalia was initiated into field-archaeology by Wheeler who little knew at that time that this frail youth will stride so gigantically across the future firmament of Indian archaeology for well nigh half a century.

The book therefore, is the saga of Indian archaeology from Cunningham to Sankalia. First published in 1962, the present second, revised and enlarged edition incorporates almost all new discoveries, fresh interpretations and latest of scientific and technical methodologies. In a way it is quite an unconventional book besides being a critical encyclopaediacal treatise. While it cuts across time and space in its scope and proffers an ultra-forward-looking approach, a good bit of throb and thrill of the romantic archaeology of the olden days with sprinkling of whip-lash reprimands in typical pedagogic fashion gives the book a personality not quite unakin to that of its author. To Sankalia Cunningham's monuments and Wheeler's trenches are still as useful today as Zeuner's microscopes and Binford's computers. He passionately pleads for the application of the methodology of modern field-archaeology towards an objective analysis of the Epics and Puranas so disdainfully viewed by Cunningham. For, he believes that, the myths, legends and lores of culturally as variegated a land as the subcontinent of India is, could, not have been perpetuated uniformly everywhere, through centuries, without any substance.

Besides retaining, and enlarging where ever necessary, all that were important in the first edition of the book, the author reviews the aims, methods and output of the past archaeological work in a historical perspective in Part I. New data pertaining to prehistory, protohistory and early history including those on coins, sculptures and epigraphs that have come out during the preceeding two decades have been added in Parts II and III. These two chapters constitute the soul of the book. Sites cultures, chronologies have been blended together into one central theme i.e., tracing the cohesive force which has woven the cultural fabric of the Indian subcontinent. Therefore, distant Gandhara and further still Mehrgarh in Kachi plains of Baluchistan receives as much attention as his own dear Inamgaon nearer home. In doing so he has probed in depth the total output of the century-old efforts of Indian archaeologists, including his own, in a frank, free and bold manner. While his anxieties over the current state of archaeology in India arise from his vast personal experience, the panacea recommended gives us an insight into this

BOOK REVIEW

progressive vision and objective outlook.

Parts IV and V containing an outline of his concept of New Archaeology and a blue-print for what to do in future reminds the reader of Wheelers words "the archaeological excavator is not digging up *things*, he is digging up *people*".

Reminiscent of Upanishadic style the book essentially contains a series of discourses, views, jottings, criticisms and precepts. Although Sankalia thinks that his book, will be useful to students and even tourists, in reality it is the professional archaeologist in the government departments and universities and serious researchers within the country and abroad who are going to benefit the most out of it. Nevertheless in his eagerness to tell us more and more as his ever-active receptive mind goes on delving into higher and higher realms of thought mellowed by age and experience the author comes out in his true padagogic hue. After all hardly any of us in the profession today to whom the contents of this book directly and indirectly relate can say that he has not learnt a thing or two from Sanskalia.

G. C. MOHAPATRA

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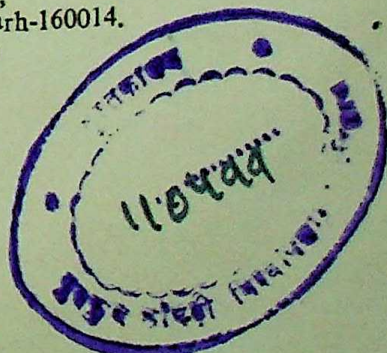
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Edited and Printed by :

Nirmal Mukerji, at the Panjab University Press, Chandigarh

Completed
1999-2000

110488

